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O R

W. T. Tolson's Defence of himself

Against the law

1 other House of Congress

VINDICIUS LIBERIUS:

O R,

M. Toland's Defence of himself,

Against the late

Lower House of Convocation.

NINDICIVS LIBERIVS:

O R,

M. Toland's Defence of himself

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VINDICIUS LIBERIUS:

O R,
M. Toland's Defence of himself,
Against the late
Lower House of Convocation,
and Others ;

W H E R E I N
(Besides his Letters to the *Prolocutor*)
Certain Passages of the Book,
Intitul'd,

CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS,
are Explain'd, and others Corrected ;

WITH A
Full and clear Account of the Authors PRINCIPLES relating to CHURCH and STATE ;

And a JUSTIFICATION of the
WHIGS and **COMMONWEALTHSMEN**,
against the Misrepresentations of all their Opposers.

Dat Veniam Corvis, vexat CENSURA Columbas.
JUVENAL.

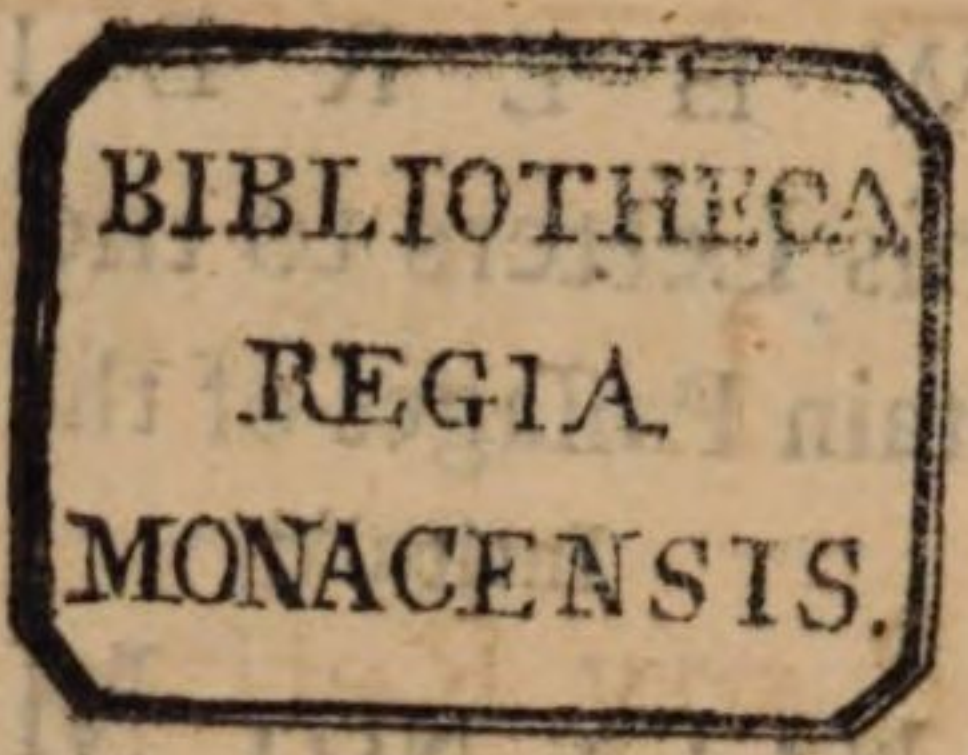
Being (I hope) releas'd from that irksom and unpleasant work
of *Controversy and Wrangling about Religion*, I shall now turn
my Thoughts to something more agreeable to my Temper.

Archbishop TILLOTSON.

L O N D O N:
Printed for *Bernard Lintott* at the Post-House next
the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleetstreet*. M.DCC.II.

VINDICIVS LIBERVS
O R,

M. Toland's Defence of himself,
Against the late
Excesses of Consecration,
and Others;



CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS,
are Explained, and others Corrected;
WITH A
Full and clear Account of the Author's Principles
relating to CHURCH and STATE;
And a Justification of the
WHIGS and COMMONWEALTHSMEN,
against the Misrepresentations of all their Opponents.
By JOHN TOLAND, Esq; of the Middle Temple.
Being (I hope) cleared from that Ignominy and unpleasant work
of Consecration, and being now at Liberty, I shall now send
my Thoughts to something more agreeable to my Temper.
J. Toland.

L O N D O N:
Printed for Bernard Lintot at the Post-Office next
the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-Street. M.DCC.LII.

Vindicius Liborius, &c.

I.

AFTER my Return from *Germany* I was very curious to know what had bin printed in my Absence ; and gueffing by the *English* Pamphlets I saw in *Holland* that there were a great many publisht besides, I order'd my Book-feller to send me 'em all Home, and was amaz'd to perceive what a Task I had on my Hands. Som related to the *Commons*, som to the *Lords*, som to the new, and som to the old *Ministry* :

B

stry: but none of any Sort were near so numerous, or written with greater Heat and Spirit, than those relating to both Houses of CONVOCATION. I was deservedly Surpriz'd at several Things I met in the last; but in those which justify'd the proceedings of the *lower House*, what made the deepest Impressions on me was to find the most Reverend the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, and the right Reverend the *Bishops*, blam'd for doing nothing against heretical, impious, and immoral Books, or protecting such from Censure; and that they had particularly Screen'd my self from I know not what perillous Circumstances, tho His Grace and their *Lordships* are all Strangers to my Person, and, I verily believe, as far from the Principles imputed to

to me by others, as any the most orthodox Members of the *lower House*. I met with several Instances in my own Time, and read of a great many more, how far the Force of Interest, Passion, or Design will carry People to asperse their Adversaries, to vilify their Persons, and to render their Principles or Intentions suspected, without more Regard to Sense or Probability, than they commonly have to Justice or Truth: but I confess this to be one of the hardest Attempts of the kind, and yet I ought not to be startl'd at any Thing they have don against me, after the Strange Usage which the *Bishops* on several Accounts have receiv'd at their Hands.

B 2

II. BUT

II.

BUT since the Publisher and the Compilers of the *Narrative of the Proceedings of the lower House* have represented me as the Author of an *Atheistical and Detestable Book*, which is to make me an Atheist and detestable Person; and that the writer of *The Expedient propos'd* affirms, that
 Pag. 21. my Lord *Bishop of Salisbury* had too great an Influence on the upper House to Screen me, lest he shou'd be complain'd of next; I ow that Deference to the World, and that Justice to my self, as to give a particular Account of this Affair: for tho I am not so considerable (even in my own Opinion) as to think the Public shou'd be trobl'd about my Sentiments or privat Concerns, yet since certain Persons, for
 Reasons

Reasons best known to themselves, have thought fit to make no small Stir about Me, and to represent me in very different Colors, sometimes as the Head and sometimes as the Tail of a Party; at one Time as a Man to be contemn'd, which yet they seem to fear shou'd happen, as well by the Number as the Virulence of their Answers; when they are in another Humor, I must straight be transform'd from a Pigmy to a Gyant, a destructive Monster whom Church and State must jointly consult by what Means to disarm or destroy; and lest the *Bishops* might think the Discussing of my Book below their Consideration, the *Narrative of the lower House* assures 'em that *the Cause was worthy their Endeavor*. But be it which way they will, that I am

Pag. 53.

as little or as great as they wou'd have me, yet conceiving my self to be publicly wrong'd and asperst, Equity and Law allow me the Benefit of a public Defence, tho my Enemies may add to their Crime by denying me a public Reparation. To reflect on Men's Persons when we oppose their Errors is not only expressely contrary to the sacred Precepts of the *Christian* Religion, but also to the common Dictats of Reason, and below the Dignity of human Nature. We are rather oblig'd to make the most candid Construction of their Designs, and if their words admit of a double Sense, (which is hard to be always avoided in any Language) we ought to allow the fairest Interpretation of their Meaning. This is the practice of those who really love and esteem

steem the Truth, who labor for the Reformation and not the Destruction of their Adversaries: for their Intentions can never be good who seem apprehensive lest those they attack shou'd be able to justify themselves, who aggravate their Errors or expose their Opinions under odious Names, who wiredraw their Expressions to Things that were never in their Thoughts, who charge 'em with Consequences they reject or did not foresee, who accuse 'em of impious or seditious Designs, who suspect the plainest Apologies they can make, and discover a hidden Poison in their words even when they are of their own prescribing

III.

WERE I dispos'd to speak indecent and unmanly Language

on this Occasion, I needed not to read our *PLAUTUS* as *MILTON* is said to have often don the better to rail at *SALMASIUS*, I needed to go no farther than those very Pieces which have bin publisht on Behalf of *the lower House*; for if you consider the Dialect in which they treat those of the other Side, and what they positively or by Implication lay to their Charge, you wou'd not imagin you were reading Books that related to the Constitution of any *Church* in the world, much less that were written by Divines against Divines, by the *inferior Clergy* against the *Bishops* themselves, or such as espous'd their Cause and appear to have their Approbation. You meet in every Page with the Charge and Terms of *libelling, calumniating, bespattering, Detraction,* and

and Slander ; of Partiality, Dis-
ingenuity, Insincerity, Falsifying,
and Prevarication ; of Rudeness,
Unmannerlyness, Ignorance, Dis-
respect, of too much Assurance,
and want of Modesty ; of false
or partial Quotations, Misrepresen-
tations of Matters of Fact, *Insinuations* against Some as Betrayers
of the Church, against others as
mere *Tools* ready to say or do
or write any Thing for *Prefer-*
ment, and the *Discontents* of
those are not forgot who are
angry at their *Disappointments* ;
there are little pitiful *Stories*
plainly told or obscurely hinted ;
sometimes they rake into the
Pedegree, mean Beginning,
Youthful Slips, or common In-
discretions of their Adversaries ;
and, in a word, you meet with
a Treatment and stile that abun-
dantly favor of this World, and
have

have not the least Relish of Heaven. But nothing Scandalises me like certain base and low Expressions, as when Doctor KENNET is made to personat a Quack-Doctor or Mountebank

Pag. 34. in the *Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about Convo-cations*: and in the same Book is very intelligibly (I will not say how truly or gentilely) call'd a mercenary Dog; for what else can be the Meaning of these Words? *He was resolv'd to write for Himself, and against Som Body. Whether Mr. ATTER-*

Pag. 47. *BURY or Som one else had fallen in his Way, his Teeth were alike ready Set to fasten upon any one, at whom his Masters shou'd think fit to play him. Tho these Gentlemen profess to be Christians, and that we know 'em to be Divines, yet they somtimes plainly forget of what Spirit*

Spirit they are ; and I hope their Doctrin may gain more Friends to the *Church*, than I am sure such Language or Examples ever can : For my own Part, how much soever I am provok'd, I shall not indulge my Passion, nor Sanctify Malice by their Authority, having learnt to forgive my Enemies, and being perswaded that the Cause of *Religion* the least of all others needs the Aid of Force or Calumny to Support it.

IV.

I SHALL therefore to the best of my Knowledge fairly relate what concerns my self in their Writings, pleading my Justification where I think I am injur'd, and ingenuously owning my Mistakes where I am convinc'd

vinc'd there's Reason for so doing. In the beginning of *March* 170^o, I was inform'd by common Fame that the *lower House of Convocation* had appointed a Committee to examin Books lately publisht against the *Christian* Religion or the establisht Church of *England*. Som people seem'd mightily pleas'd with this News on my Account, exulting beforehand at the *Censure* I was sure to incurr, and positively telling what it shou'd be with the Consequences of the same, long e'er it became the Subject of Debate. In nothing on Earth did there more appear the Spirit of a Party, especially if it be consider'd that the Persons who show'd their Zeal and Joy on this Occasion were not more remarkable than their Neighbors for Knowlege
or

or Practice, and that they were most if not all of 'em absolute Strangers to me. Som little Time after, I heard indeed that two Books of my Composition were under the Consideration of that Committee, wherupon I did immediatly write a Letter to the reverend Dr. HOOPER, Dean of *Canterbury*, and *Prolocutor* of the *lower House of Convocation*, either to give such Satisfaction as shou'd induce 'em to stop their proceedings, or desiring to be heard in my own Defence before they past any *Censure* on my Writings. This Letter (which I understand to have bin only privatly shown to som of the Members) was variously represented. Som said it was a rude and menacing Piece, maintaining the *Socinian* Heresy, and fit to be burnt with
the

the Book, if not with the Author: others reported that it was a direct Submission, a mean Compliance, and a very humble Recantation. Now supposing it had bin a Submission, (tho I knew no Obedience to be due to them, and was ignorant with what Errors they charg'd me) yet none of my Adversaries ought to have bin displeas'd at it, unless they were sorry left by so doing I shou'd escape those Inconveniencies into which my Obstinacy might bring me; and none of the Clergy ought to reflect on any Man's Retracting as a mean Compliance, since *Recantation* is all the *Inquisition* it self requires, and that the preaching of *Repentance* is at least half a *Clergyman's* Business. But that every Reader may judg which
of

of the two Reports were better grounded, or whether Neither of 'em had any Ground at all, here follows the Letter it self for their satisfaction.

V.

For the reverend Dr. Hooper, D. of Canterbury, and Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation.

Reverend Sir,

‘ **I**N the Post, which you so
‘ deservedly Supply, tis no
‘ Wonder if you are often ad-
‘ drest by persons (as I am)
‘ wholly unknown to You; tho
‘ Fame has made me no Stran-
‘ ger to your great Learning
‘ and Moderation. I have bin
‘ inform’d by several People,
‘ that

‘ that *the lower House of Convoca-*
‘ *tion* has order’d a Committee
‘ to examin what Books have
‘ bin lately written or publisht
‘ against the *Christian Religion*
‘ and the three *Creeds*, or to this
‘ Effect ; and that, among ma-
‘ ny others, two Pieces, wher-
‘ of I am the Author, are now
‘ under their Consideration.
‘ That in those Books there may
‘ be som singular Opinions, and
‘ such as are not authoriz’d by
‘ the common Approbation, I
‘ will not deny : for I had not
‘ only the same Liberty with
‘ all others of writing in a free
‘ Contry, but might also make
‘ what new Discoveries I was
‘ able towards the better under-
‘ standing of Religion, of Law,
‘ of History, or any other Fa-
‘ culty. And indeed He trifles
‘ extremely with the World,
‘ who

‘ who is not convinc’d, that,
‘ at least, he makes Things
‘ clearer than they were; if He
‘ explodes no vulgar Errors,
‘ detects no dangerous Falla-
‘ cies, nor adds any stronger
‘ Light or Proof to what was
‘ generally receiv’d before.
‘ Those and such like are the
‘ real or pretended Motives of
‘ all Authors, of *Divines* as well
‘ as others; and they actually
‘ advance new *Notions*, *Expo-*
‘ *sitions*, and *Hypotheses* in their
‘ Books every Day, without
‘ being decry’d for their Inno-
‘ vations, or suspected to un-
‘ dermine Religion. Tis not
‘ to be suppos’d therefore that
‘ the *Convocation* is displeas’d
‘ with me for differing som-
‘ times with others (which I
‘ can show the most eminent of
‘ their Members to have don)
C ‘ but

‘ but for writing, as it’s given
‘ out, against the *Christian* Re-
‘ ligion or the Three *Creeds*.
‘ The Truth of this Charge I
‘ positively deny, or that there
‘ is any Reason or Color for
‘ it in any of my Books.
‘ CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERI-
‘ ous cannot relate to the three
‘ *Creeds*, since it do’s not treat
‘ particularly of any *Article* ;
‘ notwithstanding that such as
‘ never saw it are made to be-
‘ lieve it directly attacks the
‘ *Trinity*, and openly defends
‘ the *Socinian* Principles, which
‘ the Author has always be-
‘ liev’d not only to be false,
‘ but also wholly groundless
‘ and ridiculous. As for the
‘ *Christian* Religion in general,
‘ that Book is so far from calling
‘ it in Question, that it was
‘ purposely written for its Ser-
‘ vice,

‘ vice, to defend it against the
‘ Imputations of Contradiction
‘ and Obscurity, which are fre-
‘ quently objected by its Oppo-
‘ sers. There is nothing blame-
‘ worthy in this Design, nor
‘ ought any Persons to be angry
‘ with me for professing that I
‘ understand the *Christian* Reli-
‘ gion, how *mysterious* soever it
‘ may seem to them : and, I
‘ am sure, the better any Man
‘ comprehends a Thing, the
‘ more He has to say for it, and
‘ the greater Reasons to believe
‘ it. Som Passages in my Book,
‘ which were disputed, I have
‘ explain’d in an *Apology* a-
‘ part : and were my Principle
‘ erroneous or my Performance
‘ insufficient, yet my Intentions
‘ were Sound and Orthodox.
‘ As for AMYNTOR, every Bo-
‘ dy knows how Mr. BLACKHALL

‘ drew me in to write it, when
‘ no such Purpose had ever en-
‘ ter’d into my Head before.
‘ This Book consists of Matters
‘ of Fact, and som Observations
‘ on them. The Facts are all
‘ or most of them collected out
‘ of the *Fathers* of the Church,
‘ Men for whom the *Clergy* pro-
‘ fess a great Veneration, and
‘ the best Editions of their
‘ Works have bin made or pro-
‘ cur’d by *Divines*. What lies
‘ disperst and scatter’d in those
‘ Volumes, is neither better nor
‘ worse being extracted and laid
‘ together in their natural Or-
‘ der. But if the bare Quo-
‘ ting of *Facts* be any Fault, I
‘ may pretend, I hope, to as
‘ good Quarter as Mr. DOD-
‘ WELL; not that I wou’d pro-
‘ mote any *Censure* against that
‘ worthy Person, but that what
‘ is

‘ is not reckon’d amiss in him
‘ may not be thought criminal
‘ in Me. But the *Facts*, I may
‘ reasonably suppose, are not
‘ likely to be made an Obje-
‘ ction to any Body; and I have
‘ even convinc’d my Adversa-
‘ ries that by the *Spurious Pieces*,
‘ mention’d in *MILTON’S Life*,
‘ I did not mean any Books of
‘ the *New Testament*. Tis con-
‘ fess’d I have shewn som Conse-
‘ quences which have bin drawn
‘ from the pretended *Sacred*
‘ *Books*, of which I have given
‘ a Catalog in *AMYNTOR*; but
‘ that I approve of ’em there or
‘ any where else dos by no
‘ Means appear. On the con-
‘ trary, in the Sixty-fifth Page,
‘ I affirm that *it had much more*
‘ *becom Mr. BLACKHALL’S Pro-*
‘ *fession to appear better acquainted*
‘ *with these Things, and commend-*
‘ *ably*

ably to spend his Time in preventing the mischievous Inferences which Heretics may draw from hence, or to remove the Scruples of doubting but sincere Christians, than so publicly to vent his Malice against a Man that never injur'd him, &c. And as to som Remains of the Apostles which the Fathers thought unquestionably theirs, and wherof I had so favorable an Opinion as to offer som Arguments to prove 'em genuin; yet, in the fifty eighth Page, I declare that I shall not be too hasty to make a final Decision of this Matter with my self, lest I incur the dreadful Curse which the Author of the Revelation pronounces against such as shall add or take away from that Book. Let Mr. BLACKHALL be assur'd, that, if He must needs have

‘ have me to be a Heretic, I am
‘ not unteachable ; tho I wou’d not
‘ have it reputed *Obstinacy*, if I
‘ shou’d not Surrender without sa-
‘ tisfactory Reasons. Instead ther-
‘ fore of censuring and calum-
‘ niating (which ought not to be
‘ reckon’d *Virtues* in any Order of
‘ Men, and least of all in the Mi-
‘ nisters of the Gospel) let such
‘ as are better inlightn’d endeavor
‘ to extricat the erroneous out of
‘ these or the like Difficulties, &c.
‘ This is what I thought ne-
‘ cessary to suggest in general
‘ concerning those two Pieces
‘ of mine, which have bin made
‘ the Occasion of so much noise.
‘ I was but five and twenty
‘ Years old when I wrote the
‘ first, which ought to be Ex-
‘ cuse enough for any unadvis’d
‘ Expressions ; and the last I
‘ was plainly forc’d to publish

‘ in my own Vindication, ha-
‘ ving bin openly traduc’d to
‘ the honorable *House of Com-*
‘ *mons.* For many important
‘ Reasons I have firmly resolv’d
‘ never hereafter to intermed-
‘ dle in any *religious Controver-*
‘ *sies*, but to keep my self (as
‘ now I am) very easy and
‘ contented ; provided always I
‘ be not constrain’d (as before)
‘ to write in my just Defence ,
‘ which I shall think my self more
‘ oblig’d to do in Relation to the
‘ *Animadversions* of a public Bo-
‘ dy, than against any privat Per-
‘ son how considerable soever.
‘ There is nothing less equit-
‘ able or more ineffectual than
‘ condemning of Books by
‘ wholesale, without assigning
‘ the particular Places which
‘ contradict Religion, the Laws,
‘ or good Manners. I cou’d
‘ easily

‘ easily show the ill Effects of
‘ such Proceedings in *Convocati-*
‘ *ons* and other *ecclesiastic Assem-*
‘ *blys* in all Ages, were I not
‘ sure that you understand the
‘ History of these Things much
‘ better than I can pretend to
‘ do. I have collected occasi-
‘ onally in my Reading such
‘ Passages as relate to the ex-
‘ punging, castrating, sup-
‘ pressing, burning, or other
‘ Ways of censuring Books a-
‘ mong the *Heathens*, *Jews*,
‘ *Christians*, and *Mahometans*:
‘ And were such Materials di-
‘ gested into a Volum on this
‘ Subject, to represent the Mat-
‘ ter at one View to the Rea-
‘ der, the World wou’d be a-
‘ stonisht at most of the Cir-
‘ cumstances; which convinces
‘ me that the less of this is
‘ practis’d the better it is, and
‘ more

‘ more for the Honor of Reli-
‘ gion. This I say not with
‘ Regard to my self, being pre-
‘ par’d for whatever happens ;
‘ but were it becoming me to
‘ advise a Person so much my
‘ Superior in all Respects, I
‘ wou’d desire you to counte-
‘ nance as little as may be a-
‘ gainst others a Thing which
‘ has all the Appearance of Se-
‘ verity to make the Party o-
‘ dious that use it, and none of
‘ the intended Effects to recon-
‘ cile or intimidat, but rather
‘ to provoke their Enemies.
‘ There are other Methods
‘ more just and reasonable to
‘ secure the *establisht Religion*,
‘ of which I own my self a
‘ Member, as finding it after
‘ due Consideration to be the
‘ best in the World, tho in ma-
‘ ny Respects coming short of
‘ Per-

‘ Perfection. It will not be
‘ long before I have Opportu-
‘ nity to acquaint the Public
‘ with my Reasons for this Pro-
‘ fession, both to undeceive those
‘ who are pleas’d to question
‘ my Religion in general, and
‘ because I adher’d to no pecu-
‘ liar Society before, but only
‘ occasionally join’d with all
‘ *Protestants* indifferently, against
‘ the Superstition, Idolatry, and
‘ Tyranny of *Popery*. But not
‘ to digress, when this Letter
‘ is but too prolix already, tho
‘ the *Convocation* pretends to no
‘ Authority over Men’s Persons,
‘ yet, if you think fit to inti-
‘ mat your Desire of any fur-
‘ ther Satisfaction in these Mat-
‘ ters, I shall readily wait on
‘ you wherever you please to
‘ appoint me. In the mean
‘ Time, I hope you’ll attribute
‘ nothing

‘ nothing I have said to any
‘ greater Assurance, than what
‘ I ought to have of my own
‘ Innocence and your Justice.
‘ If I have bin misinform’d a-
‘ bout the Proceedings of your
‘ House, I beg Pardon for gi-
‘ ving you this Trouble; but
‘ if the Matter of Fact be true,
‘ I have don no more than is
‘ necessary. Wishing therefore
‘ a happy Conclusion to the De-
‘ terminations of that *Assembly*
‘ where you make the greatest
‘ Figure, I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

VI. TO

VI.

TO this Letter the PROLOCUTOR was pleas'd to send me a short Answer, containing, that my Information was true about the Committee, and that they had com to som Resolutions about my Book which they were expected to report suddenly: that his Business was to manage the Debates of the House, and to moderat any Disputes that might arise about wording their Questions ; in which Cases, if he might be capable, he concludes with his Offers to serve me. As well therefore to justify my self from the different Reports about my first Letter, as to leave them no Color or Pretence of not fully understanding my Design, I thought fit
after

after due Consideration to send him this second Letter.

Reverend Sir,

‘ I THANKFULLY ac-
‘ knowlege the civil Of-
‘ fers in your Answer ; nor did
‘ I doubt before of your Justice,
‘ tho I cou’d pretend no Title
‘ to your Favor either by
‘ Friendship or Merit. But you
‘ seem to mistake my Design,
‘ for I wrote to you as a public
‘ Person, in Order to communi-
‘ cat my Letter to the *Assembly*
‘ over which you preside, or at
‘ least to the Committee : that
‘ in so doing I might give ’em
‘ full Information and Satisfacti-
‘ on ; or, that if they proceeded
‘ to any *Censure*, it shou’d be a
‘ Part of my *Defence*. My Re-
‘ solutions of Silence about these
‘ or

‘ or the like Matters for the fu-
‘ ture are honestly meant, and
‘ were fixt a long Time before
‘ the Meeting of the *Convocati-*
‘ *on*, as som Persons of great
‘ Worth and Honor can testify.
‘ This is all that cou’d be ex-
‘ pected from one who cannot
‘ be brought to *recant* those Er-
‘ rors which he never held, how
‘ ever uncharitably imputed to
‘ him by others. As the Defe-
‘ rence I paid to the *Convocation*
‘ is no more than their Due, and
‘ the farthest imaginable from
‘ Soothing; so I hope no Body
‘ takes for Rudeness, what I
‘ was oblig’d to say in my own
‘ Vindication. Flattery is as
‘ much below me, as it is above
‘ me to menace: but in Deal-
‘ ing plainly within the Bounds
‘ of good Manners, I can ne-
‘ ver dispense with my self.
The

‘ The space of a Month shall
 ‘ convince the World of my
 ‘ Sincerity in performing what
 ‘ I promis’d you with Respect
 ‘ to the *establis’d Church*, which
 ‘ I really think to be the best
 ‘ national Constitution on Earth,
 ‘ and admirably suited to our ci-
 ‘ vil Government: and if my
 ‘ Judgment in this or any other
 ‘ Case may be thought of any
 ‘ Weight, it is more becoming
 ‘ me to declare it now, than at
 ‘ any Time of my Life before.
 ‘ But referring to what I shall
 ‘ * publish on this Subject, I de-
 ‘ fire the Favor of You to im-
 ‘ part this and my former Let-
 ‘ ter to your *House*, if they
 ‘ continue resolv’d to *censure* my
 ‘ Books. And for the rest, I

* *In Anglia Libera, sect. 14.*

‘ Que-

question not but you in particular will act answerably to your great Character, in Pursuance of your Trust, for the Interest of Religion, the Honor of the *Church of England*, and with no ill Intentions towards,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Jo. Toland.

VII.

HAVING receiv'd no Answer to this *Letter* (which I now understand was no more communicated to the *House* than the Other) I took it for granted that I had given 'em
D intire

intire Satisfaction both as to my Writings and Principles. And who wou'd not have thought so? for I cou'd not imagin I had to do with *TIBERIUS*, or such other *Tyrants*, who procede with no Regard to the Justice of the Cause, but only aim at oppressing and condemning the Person accus'd. Nor was I to look on *the lower House of Convocation* as on the *Popish Inquisition*, tho even in that inhuman, execrable, and *Antichristian* Court, a Man is always allow'd to be heard at his own Desire. Neither did I dream in the least but that my *Letters* had bin under the Consideration of the *House*, so far was I from suspecting they were accidentally or advisedly suppress'd. I took all the Steps on my Side that cou'd be expected

pected or demanded. The Design of my Book was controverted, I plainly declar'd it; My Faith in general was question'd, I profess it to be the *Christian* Religion; and there being a Doubt what Communion I prefer'd, I own'd it to be that of the *Church of England*. But in Case these Answers might not give full Satisfaction, I offer'd personally to appear in their Assembly, which indeed was more than they cou'd require by Law, yet being voluntarily offer'd by me, they cou'd not pretend to run any Risk in accepting it. Having therefore never heard from them afterwards, I made no Doubt but all this Controversy was happily at an End, and that I shou'd not hear again of these Matters except by the

Congratulations of my Friends, that the Members of *the lower House*, being undeceiv'd from the false Reports and perverse Glosses of my Enemies, had set me right with their Brethren in the Contry, as in Justice and Charity they were bound to do.

VIII.

BUT, to my extreme Surprise, in perusing the *Narrative* drawn up by Order of *the lower House*, I found, that, without any Regard to my *Letters*, they had proceeded so far as to draw a *Representation* against me to *the upper House*, and to send to their *Lordships* certain *Positions* they had condemn'd in the Book intitul'd, CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS. In the
Nar-

Narrative it is call'd a *detestable* Pag. 51.
Book, and the Publisher more
than once terms it *Atheistical*. P. 17. 19.
Now, 'tis well known the Book
has bin examin'd by the late
learned Lord *Bishop* of *Worce-*
ster, by Mr. NORRIS, Dr. PAINE,
Dr. BROWNE the present Pro-
vost of *Dublin* College, by the
Author of *the Occasional Paper*,
by the Author of *the Gentleman's*
Religion, by Dr. BEVERLY, by
Mr. BECKENSALL of *Oxford*, and
others ; of these some taxt it
with Forms of Speaking out of
the common Road, others
thought it favor'd *Socinianism*,
and a very few charg'd it with
Principles tending to *Deism*:
but not one of 'em ever spoke
of discovering *Atheism* in it,
when neither the whole Dis-
course nor any Part of it can
have any Sense or Meaning,

but as they are founded on the Being of a Deity. People ought to be very tender and reserv'd in accusing a Man of any Thing that manifestly turns to his Disadvantage ; but making one pass for a Traitor, a Parracid, or Murderer, are nothing, even in the Eys of the World, to charging him with *Atheism* : for such a Person is not only justly lookt upon as one that has no Reason or Reflection, but likewise as under no Tyes of Conscience, of Obligations or Oaths, when he has an Opportunity of doing Mischief ; and so not to be trusted in any privat or public Capacity. Besides that a great many People, when they are confidently told by those on whose Judgment and Sincerity they depend (such as their *Spi-ritual*

ritual Guides) that any Man is an *Atheist*, they presently conclude him guilty of all those Immoralities which they take to be the natural Consequences of his Opinion, and without further Examination they actually charge him with all the ill Things that com into their Heads. This is taken on Trust by others, and so let the Person be innocent as a Child, yet his Vindication will never probably reach so many as are prejudic'd against him, whereby the more ignorant Sort are made to abhor him, and his crafty Enemies thus securely gratify their Malice or Revenge. *Tis no matter for Truth, calumniat stoutly, something will stick.*

IX.

I COU'D produce many Instances to this purpose from the antient *Philosophers*; the *Heathen Priests* represented the *primitive Christians* as *Atheists* both in Doctrin and Practice, and the People at their Instigation treated 'em as such; the first *Reformers*, with their followers, met with the same unjust Measure from the *Papists*; and, at this present Time, when the *Inquisitors* can make no other Accusation good against their Prisoner, they take Care to Charge him with *Atheistical* Notions and the most enormous Crimes, wherby he's straight condemn'd by the public Voice, and all Men's Ears are stopt against any Thing that can be said

said for one they conceive to be such a wicked Wretch. God forbid I shou'd think the Intentions of those who stild my Book *atheistical* and *detestable* to be quite so bad ; however, those Epithets carrying with them so terrible an Impression, they shou'd have consider'd better before they made use of 'em. But in their Excuse, and to my Comfort, the Danger is not so great in *England*, where the generality of the People are so well instructed, and so clear-sighted in all Affairs, as to judg for themselves, yielding neither an implicit Belief nor Obedience to any single Man or public Society. Besides that the Sowerness of som and the Rashness of others in *religious Controversies* have made this Word so common an Opprobry, and
to

to be so thrown out at Random on the least Difference about one another's Opinions, that it ordinarily signifies no more than a Man's being passionately displeas'd against those who dissent from him, and on such occasions it imports as much as an angry Bully's calling every one he meets *Son of a Whore*, tho it were his Brother or a Woman. But for the Sake of those who may lay a greater Stress on this Word, I solemnly profess to the World, and make my Appeal to Heaven, that in writing CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS, I neither doubted my self of the Wisdom, Goodness, or Power of God ; nor in the least intended to bring others into any Scruples about his Attributes or Existence : and, whatever
Errors

Errors or Mistakes there may be in that Treatise, yet I challenge all my Accusers to discover any Thing in the same directly or indirectly, exprest or imply'd, as tending to *Atheism*, which I execrate and abhor from the Bottom of my Soul; or if any of *the lower House* thought me to be truly guilty of this most heinous of all Crimes, why wou'd they not hear me at my own Request, when I might either vindicate my self from this foul Aspersi- on, or be throly convinc'd of so dangerous an Error in such a numerous and learned Assembly of *Divines*?

X.

BUT this is a Favor (tho others may call it a Piece of Justice) wher-

wherof it seems I was not worthy ; and I am afraid, from my Observation on som Men's Temper and Designs, that even for finding Fault with their proceedings, and for questioning the Equity or Legality of any Thing they have don, I may still be counted little better than an *Atheist*, at least very temerarious and presumptuous, as it formerly happen'd to the famous *Monsieur ARNAUD* *. He affirm'd that having carefully perus'd Jansenius's Books, he cou'd not find therein those *Propositions* condemn'd by the *Pope*, tho he himself did likewise condemn the same *Propositions* wherever he met 'em,

* *The Provincial Letters, or Mystery of Jesuitism, Lett. I.*

and wou'd have don it in JAN-
SENIUS cou'd he have found 'em
there. Threescore and eleven
Doctors undertook his Vindica-
tion, and som of 'em declar'd,
that (notwithstanding the strict
Search they had made) they
cou'd never find any such *Pro-
positions* in JANSENIUS, but ma-
ny that were quite contrary :
wherfore they earnestly in-
treated that if there was any
Doctor present, who had disco-
ver'd 'em there, he wou'd be
pleas'd to show them ; but this
they cou'd never obtain. On
the other Side were fourscore
Secular Doctors and about half as
many *Mendicant Fryers*, who,
without ever examining whe-
ther what *Monsieur ARNAUD* af-
firm'd were true or false, con-
demn'd him as *temerarious* for
saying he was not satisfy'd those
Pro-

Propositions were in JANSENIUS, when the Bishops had before declar'd they were there. And why may not I, or any that appears in my Defence or Excuse, be as well counted *temerarious* for affirming that there is no *Atheism* in my Book, after it is declar'd to be there by the publisher of the *Narrative*, who was likewise a Member of the lower House? In one Thing the lower House has outdone the Sorbonne; for there *Monsieur ARNAUD* or any other might freely Discourse, tho they were artfully stinted to half an Hour by those who had no Mind they shou'd have Time enough to justify themselves; but here I was not allow'd to speak at all. There is a Thing, I must observe, wherein they are both agreed, it being easier to find Votes than Argu-

Arguments, and that is to CEN-
SURE: For, as my Author ob-
serves, * the Censure how censu-
rable soever it may be in it self,
will for som Time have its Ef-
fect. And tho tis certain there
will be so much Pains taken to show
its Invalidity, that it will be at
last discover'd; yet it is true with-
all, that at the Beginning it will
have as great an Influence over
most People, as if it were the
justest Censure in the World. It
suffices that it be publisht in the
News Paper, or cry'd about the
Streets. How few are there that
will read it? how few of those
that do read it, will understand
it? how very few will perceive
that it answers not the Objections?
And who do you think will concern

* Letter 3.

*himself so much in the Business,
as to undertake the Examination of
it to the Bottom?*

XI.

BUT not to digress too far,
the lower House without any pre-
vious Consultation with the *Bi-
shops*, without expecting the
KING's License, and without any
Regard to the two *Letters* I sent
'em, came to formal Resoluti-
ons about CHRISTIANITY NOT
MYSTERIOUS; and on the Re-
port of a Committee appointed
for examining of Books lately
written against the Truth of
the *Christian Religion*, they did,
about the twentieth of *March*,
send a *Representation* to the *Bi-
shops*, praying their Lordships
Concurrence to their Resolutions,
with *their Advice and Directions*
what

what effectual Course might be taken to suppress this Book and all other pernicious Books already written against the Truth of the Christian Religion, and to prevent the Publication of the like for the future. Their Resolutions contain, that, in their Judgment, the said Book is of pernicious Principles, of dangerous Consequence to the Christian Religion, written on a Design (as they conceive) and tending to subvert the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith: that the Positions extracted out of it are, together with diverse others of the same Nature, pernicious, dangerous, scandalous, and destructive of the Christian Faith. In Answer to that Part of the Representation which concern'd a Censure, their Lordships * declar'd

* History of the Convocation, pag. 112.

(April the Eighth) ‘ That on
 ‘ their consulting with Council
 ‘ learned in the Law concerning
 ‘ heretical, impious, or immo-
 ‘ ral Books, and particularly
 ‘ concerning this Book sent up
 ‘ to them from *the lower House*,
 ‘ they do not find how, with-
 ‘ out a *License* from the KING
 ‘ (which they had not yet re-
 ‘ ceiv’d) they cou’d have suffi-
 ‘ cient Authority to *censure ju-*
 ‘ *dicially* any such Books : but
 ‘ on the contrary they were ad-
 ‘ vis’d that by so doing both
 ‘ Houses of *Convocation* might in-
 ‘ cur the Penalties of the Sta-
 ‘ tute of 25. of *H. 8.* And this
 Opinion their *Lordship’s* receiv’d
 from able Lawyers after desiring
 their Resolution of these two
 * Questions ; First, *Whether the*

* Ibid. Pag. 113.

Convocation's giving an Opinion concerning a Book that is heretical, impious, and immoral, is contrary to any Law? to which they receiv'd an Answer in the Affirmative: Secondly, *Whether the Position* (they had extracted out of CHRISTIANITY NOT MYSTERIOUS) *were such an Opinion as is contrary to any Law?* to which it was answer'd in the Negative. Nor did they content themselves with this Advice, but they inquir'd besides what had bin * formerly don in such Cases, and found that on a Complaint being exhibited against some Books by the lower to the upper House, in the year 1689, the learned in both the Laws were of Opinion they cou'd not proceed judicially in such Matters.

* Ibid. Pag. 112, 113.

XII.

BUT the *Narrative* affirms
 Pag. 52. that they were as far from propo-
 sing to their Lordships to censure
 the Book judicially, as they were
 from presuming so to censure it
 themselves; and that they de-
 sir'd not the punishment of the
 Author. Yet * certainly in the
 Sense of Mankind (as the Au-
 thor of the *History of the Convo-*
cation justly observes) to declare
 a Judgment of certain Positions,
 to be pernicious, dangerous, scan-
 dalous, and destructive of the
 Christian Faith: and to com to
 formal Resolutions hereupon, and
 to pray their Lordship's Concur-
 rence to these Resolutions, is as

* *Pref. pag. 24.*

*much a judicial Censure as one House cou'd possibly pass without the other ; and it is as much aiming at a concurrent judicial Censure of the whole Synod, as any Words cou'd well prescribe. The same Author says, that * the Report first agreed on in the Committee was much more judicial, and that, before it was brought to the House, a Mitigation of Judgment was obtain'd with great Difficulty. But to evince that it was not out of Tenderness to my Person, or from a Spirit of Moderation, that they deny their having aim'd at a judicial Censure, the Publisher of the Narrative says they were sufficiently discourag'd now from desiring* Pag. 19.
the Punishment of the Author, from

* Pag. 125.

the Reception that the Address of the lower House met on such an Occasion in the Year 1689. Tis from Want of Incouragement then, and not of Inclination, that the Author was spar'd; nor did certain Gentlemen make a Secret of what, upon the passing of a concurrent Censure, they expected shou'd be don by the Parliament, which they said was wholly in their Interest, and wou'd not stick at making a Precedent to oblige 'em. Sed pudet Hæc——

Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur Arcus.

Pag. 53. The Narrative affirms that had a judicial Censure bin desir'd, tho som eminent Lawyers were against it, there are others, perhaps as eminent, who are of a contrary Opinion. I doubt not at all but there be Lawyers as well as Divines that are ready to give any
Opi-

Opinion to gratify their Ambition or Revenge, which ought to be no Argument against the Usefulness or Necessity of those excellent Professions, since there was found a treacherous, false, and ambitious Brother even among the 12 Apostles. In CHARLES I's Reign, we had *Lawyers* who were forc'd to fly their Contry for advancing the King's Prerogative above the Liberty of the Subject, and the known Laws of the Land. It was a *Lawyer*, who, in the year 1675, wou'd persuade the House of Lords that the *Oath* then endeavor'd to be impos'd for utterly inflaving the Nation to *Popery* and *Tyranny* was only a *Moderat Security to the Church and Crown*, tho it imported that it was not lawful for *Englishmen* upon any Pretence whatsoever.

soever to take up Arms against the King or those commission'd by him (which was to swear Subjection to his Army) and that they wou'd not at any Time endeavor the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. In the late Reigns there were *Lawyers* who went the utmost Lengths to subvert our Constitution, who under the Appearance of legal Forms favor'd all the villanous Machinations against our Religion and Government, who wrested and perverted the Laws against all those whom the Court had a Mind to destroy, who by their nauseous and venal Rhetoric, Scurrility, Threats, and false Suggestions, procur'd som of the best Blood in *England* to be barbarously spilt. Questionless such of these Men as are yet

yet alive wou'd be gladly im-
ploy'd to condemn the Authors
of any Pieces that expose the
arbitrary and extravagant Pro-
ceedings of those Times, or that
justify the Principles of the late
most happy *Revolution*, wher-
by God has mercifully deliver'd
us from the Hands and Tongues
of such sanguinary Monsters.
Tis no wonder if som of 'em
incourage a Censure now a-
gainst my Book, when they ha-
rangu'd others out of their
Lives for only writing such
Things in the late Reigns as
never went farther than their
Closets, and which are suffici-
ently prov'd to have bin no
Crimes by the Reversal of their
Attainders under his present
Majesty. It is not *Scribere est*
Agere with me, for I have not
only publisht but own'd my
Books.

Books. But I have no small Satisfaction to find those Men no Friends to my Person, who were such notorious Enemies to their Contry : tho I admire that any of 'em should offer to discover my Sentiments by the old infamous Practices of forc'd Consequences and Innuendos, when I am able to give so good and positive an Account of their wicked Notions in their own Words, as they were printed by Authority in certain *Tryals* that are not forgot, how much soever they may be forgiven. But I shall despise their Malice, as the Lenity of the present Reign has overlookt their Punishment : for tis a true Observation, that

*Nunquam
Sanguine Causidici maduerunt Rostra pusilli.*

XIV. BUT

XIII.

BUT tis suggested that the *Bishops* wou'd do nothing against Books of ill Principles, on which the Authors of the *Regale* and the *Expedient Propos'd* largely insist, nor is it forgot by the Publisher and Compilers of the *Narrative*. The *Archbishop's* saying that several Obstructions and Stumblingblocks were laid in their way to censure my Book, those words *Obstructions* and *Stumblingblocks* are printed in a distinct Character in the *Narra-* Pag. 60.
tive, tho his Grace hereby meant nothing else but the *Statute* beforemention'd, or the irregular Proceedings of *the lower House*, notwithstanding the *Prolocutor's* hoping the Stumblingblocks
were

were not of their laying, whereas indeed they plainly were. And as if they fear'd that this Charge of neglecting such Books in general, or favoring me in particular, shou'd not appear popular enough by their Report, Doctor JANE propos'd that there shou'd be som Marks or Signification in the Acts of their House, that the *Archbishop* and *Bishop's* Answer given to them in Relation to my Book was insufficient ; and accordingly (as it appears from their *Minuts*) they decreed that the Committee shou'd in their Answer represent the *Archbishop* and *Bishop's* Answer to that Book as insufficient, and insinuat that this House is not satisfy'd concerning the Opinion of their Council learned in the Law : And the Publisher of the *Narrative* says that

that *the* Bishops made use of a Pag. 16.
far fetcht Reason for doing nothing
in it. But this Representation
of Things will obtain its due
Character with all fair and im-
partial Readers, when it is
consider'd that their *Lordship's*
actually receiv'd the Charge of
the lower House, they inquir'd
for Precedents in the like Case
to regulat their Proceedings,
they advis'd with able Lawyers
about it, and, finding they cou'd
not *judicially censure* the Book
themselves, they recommended
the Business to the *Bishop* of the
Diocese wherein the Author had
or shou'd have his Residence.
Yet further, they appointed a
Committee of *Bishops* to exa-
min it, who reported * that
they had found therein several dan-
gerous Positions, and one in parti-

* *History of the Convocation, Pag. 14.*

cular which they lookt on as the Foundation of all the rest, of which the lower House had not taken notice, wherof in due place. I thought my self oblig'd to give this Account by Reason of the Justice I ow to any that is wrong'd or asperst on my Account, as well as to show the candid and serious Proceeding of the Bishops, who, tis manifest, had no personal Regard to me or my Writings, no Interest, Fear, or Affection to by-ass them, and are blam'd in Effect for nothing else, but for not proceeding in a passionat and arbitrary Manner, against common Equity and the Laws of the Kingdom, to the Scandal of the Reform'd Religion which abhors Persecution, and for not exposing *themselves* and the lower House to a *Præmunire*.

XIV. BUT

XIV.

BUT to load the *Bishops* still with more odium on my Account the Publisher of the *Narrative* says, that, *why their Lordships* Pag. 19. *were not as free to give their Opinion concerning that Atheistical Book of TOLAND, as they were of a few Words let fall in a Book writ upon State-matters only, reflecting upon the Disposal of som Preferment, he shall not presume to inquire.* The Matter of Fact is this. Two Days after the *lower House* had made their Representation of my Book, the *Archbishop* did produce another Book in the *upper House*, and after reading a Paragraph in the fortieth Page of the same, his *Grace* and the rest of the *Bishops* agreed that the following

ing Paper shou'd be fixt over
several Doors in *Westminster*
Abbey. ' *March 22. 170^o.*

' Whereas this Day a Book,
' intitul'd, *Essays upon, I. The*
' *Balance of Power. II. The Right*
' *of making War, Peace, and Al-*
' *liances. III. Universal Monar-*
' *chy, &c.* was brought into the
' *Jerusalem Chamber*, where his
' Grace the *Archbishop of Canter-*
' *bury*, and the rest of the *Suf-*
' *fragan Bishops* of his Province,
' were assembl'd in *Convocation*,
' in the fortieth Page of which
' Book are these Words, *Are*
' *not a great many of us able to*
' *point out to several Persons whom*
' *nothing has recommended to Places*
' *of highest Trust, and often to rich*
' *Benefices and Dignities, but*
' *the open Enmity which they have,*
' *almost from their Cradles, profess*
' *to the Divinity of CHRIST?* It
is

‘ is desir’d by the said *Archbishop*
‘ and *Bishops*, that the Author
‘ himself, whoever he be, or
‘ any one of the great many
‘ to whom he refers, wou’d
‘ point out to the particular
‘ Persons whom he or they
‘ know to be lyable to that
‘ Charge, that they may be
‘ proceeded against in a judici-
‘ al Way, which will be esteem’d
‘ a great Service to the *Church*:
‘ otherwise the abovemention’d
‘ Passage must be lookt upon as
‘ a public SCANDAL. I shall not
presume, on my Part, to in-
quire why the Publisher of the
Narrative brought in this mat-
ter on Occasion of my Book, or
what was his Design in joyning
together Things so widely dif-
ferent in their Nature. But as
for any Respect to Persons, or
Parity in the Subject, the
F *Bishops*

Bishops are already vindicated by him that wrote *the History of the Convocation*, who says that *their Lordship's Paper* was not the judging or resolving upon any Matter of Doctrin, but the taking Notice of a vile Slander cast upon the King, and the Church, and the Bishops: nor was it directly a censuring even of that Slander, but only challenging the Author of it to make it good, or to let it be reputed a public SCANDAL. And it had really this Effect; for the reputed Author never offer'd a Word to justify that Passage.

XV.

BUT worse than all the Artifices of the Publisher of the *Narrative* is the Motive, which many apprehend did ingage som of *the lower House* to single me out from all those obnoxious Authors wherof they so loudly

loudly complain'd before, and whom they made a principal Reason for calling a *Convocation*. My Book by their own Confession has only a certain mischievous Tendency, which they had the great Sagacity to discover : but there was a numerous Company of other Books that openly avow'd their Design, opposing the Doctrin of the *Trinity*, with several other Articles of the *Church*, expressly and by Name, some of 'em rejecting the *Scriptures* themselves ; yet not a Word against any of these, tho in all Men's Judgments they ought to have preceded mine, whether we consider their Subject or the Time of their Publication. I cou'd likewise produce, were it necessary, their mutual Threatnings of one another before the

F 2 Meeting

Meeting of the *Convocation*.
Dr. SHERLOCK was to be call'd
to an Account for *Tritheism*,
Dr. SOUTH for differing in
Terms and agreeing in Noti-
ons with the *Socinians*, Dr. WAKE
for betraying the Rights of
Convocations, and other eminent
Clergymen for unsound Princi-
ples, neglect of Disciplin, or
som desperat Conspiracy against
the *Church*. But when they had
their Will, and a *Convocation* was
call'd, all this mighty Noise end-
ed only in a Design against a
poor *Layman*, Dr. SOUTH and
Dr. SHERLOCK being join'd in
the same Committee to examin
his Writings, and on that Occa-
sion were very good Friends:
tho most People are agreed it
wou'd have don the *Church* more
Service either to reconcile the
Opinions of these two Doctors
about

about the *Trinity*, or (if this cannot be) to declare which of them (if either) is Orthodox, lest the Followers of the other persist in a damnable Doctrin.

XVI.

NOW they must give others Leave to guess at Designs as well as themselves, and therefore many Persons believe that really and truly the Reason of falling on me first, was to draw in the right reverend the Lord *Bishop of Salisbury* afterwards, it being apparently invidious to fall on his Lordship alone, and thinking they might easily obtain a *Censure* against me, without much insisting on matter of Legality or Form; as those who strive to break in upon the *Toleration* level all their Artillery against the *Quakers*, as being the weakest Sect,

and well knowing that if they can abridg these of their Liberty, their Reasons will as forcibly extend against all the more considerable Dissenters.

Concidit infelix alieno vulnere TOLAND.

Those of the lower House hasten'd the Bishops to a Resolution in my Case, because (as they say) they * were at a stand what was fit to be don with Relation to the other Books under their Consideration; and yet we do not find that afterwards they meddl'd with any besides the Exposition of the thirty nine Articles. The Author of the

Pag. 21. *Expedient* propos'd speaks out, and says, that, not discourag'd by the Answer they receiv'd about my Book, they further complain'd of an Exposition of the thirty nine Articles——— and that they had

* *History of the Convocation*, Pag. 119.

Cause to suspect that the Author had too great an Influence on the upper House in screening me, lest he shou'd be complained of next. Yet whoever considers that he was one of the Committee of Bishops who found dangerous Positions in my Book, will think I have little Reason to thank his Lordship for any Favor he shou'd me on that Account. But this both Nature and Religion oblige me to forgive, nor will I out of any personal Disgust conceal what I think in Justice due to that venerable and learned Prelat. I wonder'd many a Time to find any Divines of the Church of England industrious to vilify and discredit his excellent History of the Reformation to a greater Degree of Spite and Chicanery than the Papists

F 4 them-

themselves; tho the Sincerity, Disinterestedness, and Accuracy of that noble Work continue Proof against the joint Attempts of all its Enemies, nor perhaps on so severe a Scrutiny from so many Hands, and such different Quarters, were fewer Defects ever found in any History, and those consisting in one or two mistaken Names and Dates, from the Want of Manuscripts or other necessary Informations, but not one Omission appearing to be out of Fraud or Design. I am likewise surpriz'd to find so many People at this Time lessening his Services in the late Reigns, when it is notorious that for his steddy adhering to the *Protestant* Cause, and opposing to his Power the Conspiracy against our Government, he was
often

often in Danger of his Life, defam'd, outlaw'd, and prosecuted to such a Degree as oblig'd him to seek for shelter in another State. We all know how much he contributed in *Holland* to the late *Revolution*, both by his Interest and Conversation there, and by the several *Tracts* he sent from thence to incourage the People here, and to warn 'em of their Danger ; so that if Mr. JOHNSON had Reason to say that he himself had laid the Bridg on which the *Prince of Orange* came over, it cannot be deny'd but Doctor BURNET was one of the strongest Arches to Support it. But *hinc illæ Lachrymæ*. This is the great Crime of both these Gentlemen ; and the Enemies of the present Government will never forget or forgive them

them, no more than they'll do the *Dutch*, which ought to induce its Friends to have 'em in the greater Reverence and Esteem : and for my own Part, I declare that had the *Bishop* don me a particular Injury, or bin guilty of those little Stories which his Enemies publish and aggravate with so much visible Rancor, I cou'd heartily draw a Vail over his human Frailties, and not only forgive but honor him for his public and extraordinary Services to this *Church* and *Nation*.

XVII.

THE *Bishop* of *Sarum* is not the only Person whose Zeal and Courage against *Popery* in the late Reigns, are now ungratefully lessen'd or forgot. Of this the false and virulent Libels against the present and the

the late *Archbishops* of *Canterbury* are palpable Instances, not to mention som base Insinuations against both of 'em in the Books of certain Authors who were under more than one Obligation to defend them. But opposing of *Popery* at that Time seems now in som Men's Opinion to be no such extraordinary Merit. The Publisher of the *Narrative* acknowledges there was a Time when the Word *Popery* carry'd Terror in its very Sound, and any Opposition made to it had the Power of Charity to cover a Multitude of Faults: but, says he, that is long since, the Charm is now worn out—— What peculiar Hazards our Bishops ran of their Lives and Fortunes he confesses himself not able to judg; but this he is sure of, that thro God's Mer-

Pag. 16.

Pag. 17.

cy

cy they have escapt with both. This Gentleman's own ludicrous and unconcern'd Way of writing, and the Pleas of those he undertakes to defend, convince me of our Danger from *Popery* more than ever. I thought the Pains and Expence of keeping out the late King JAMES for so many Years, the renouncing of the pretended *Prince of Wales* in all our Addresses, and the Preparations for the insuing War, were intended to save us from *Popery* as well as from *Tyranny*; but all these Endeavors must be very needless if there's no Danger of restoring *Popery*, or if *Popery* be no dangerous Thing. The Historian of the *Convocation* takes Notice of a *Popish* Writer who dedicated a Book to the *Prolocutor* wherin he not

Preface,
Pag. 30.

not only labors to expose our *Reformation*, which he charges with Schism, calling it the *Cranmerian Herefy*, and by other opprobrious Names; but he also proposes an Expedient for us to be restor'd to the *Catholic* Communion, affirms that King JAMES was cast out with a Trick, and complains that no Proofs are produc'd about the Birth of the *Prince of Wales*. *This Book*, says the Writer of it in a Postscript, *was printed, tho not to be publisht but only for Members of the Convocation*. But however such a Dedication might be put upon the *Prolocutor* without his Knowledge, yet since they were so hot on the Scent of pernicious Books, I have Reason to ask with my Author, *Why such a Dedication was not Solemnly*

Ibid.
Pag. 31.

P. 263.
2 Edit.

ly renounc't and disown'd in the lower House? Why the Writer was not reprov'd for inscribing such a Libel to them? Why som Care or other was not taken to remove all Suspition of any Part of the House being concern'd in such a public Scandal? Why did they not likewise shew som Marks of their Displeasure against another Author, a Non-jurant Divine, who, in his *Case of the Regale*, proposes our entring upon a Treaty with the Church of France, and so far to reconcile our Differences as not to hinder our Communion: he complains, that the English Convocation not being suffer'd to sit while that of France lasted, render'd any Treaty betwixt them impracticable, and som other Things to the same or a worse Purpose. I shall not inquire how those

those Writers escapt, when such a Noife was made about me, unless it be that *Jacobites* are to be us'd more tenderly than *Williamites*, that *Poperie* has lost its Terror with som People in good Earnest, or that my Errors were not real but personal, their Prejudices being more against the Writer than his Book; which was likewise my Lord of *Sarum's* Case, as one of their own Members observ'd, putting the * Question, *If his Lordship had drawn up the thirty nine Articles, whether they wou'd not have bin as much blam'd as his Exposition?*

* *History of the Convocation, Pag. 114.*

XVIII.

IN the Representation of *the lower House* to the *Bishops* tis desir'd that som effectual Course may be taken to suppress my Book, and to stop any further spreading of the same; when there was not one of 'em to be found in any Booksellor's Shop in *England*, I having refus'd my Consent to make any Edition of it since the second in the same Year with the first, 1696. When I perceiv'd what a Stir was made about it, and what real or pretended Offence it had given, all I cou'd do was not to publish any more of 'em; and so willing I was both to live quietly my self, and to let others injoy their Opinions undisturb'd, that, in spite

Spite of all Provocations and unfair Usage, I never defended the same against any Answer made to it directly or indirectly, excepting my *Apology* against the *Irish Parliament*, whose Proceedings were exactly of a Piece with those of the *English Convocation*. The Book therefore being thus in a Manner suppress'd and forgot, the Publication of it having bin six Years ago, and I not since maintaining the same Opinions in any other Writings, it seem'd an uncharitable and unnecessary Proceeding to most People, that after so long a Time I shou'd be question'd for mere Speculations, which expressly justify none of the Sentiments laid to my Charge, and the Consequences of others

G being

being by me deny'd, or frankly renounc'd where I did not foresee them. But those of *the lower House* have extracted several *Positions* out of it, that (as they affirm) are of dangerous Consequence, and tending to the Subversion of the *Christian Faith*. I will by no means go about to justify every Thing in this Book, and the Wonder is not so great if either as to many of the Contents, or the Publication of the Whole, one of my Years and little Knowledge then of the World had bin too hasty, unadvis'd, and not throly settl'd in all his Notions. If we were all to be call'd to a strict Account for the Follies, Indiscretions, Oversights, and Omissions of our Youth, I believe

lieve I cou'd charge many of my Adversaries with much less pardonable Faults than any in my Writings ; I cou'd not only collect a huge Store of erroneous Doctrins for the Convocation to censure, but likewise alledg Facts as well as Notions which now they neither can nor will offer to defend. But this being neither just nor *Christian*, I leave it to such as have no Charity nor Humanity ; and am prepar'd to acknowledge whatever I have don amiss in that Book, or on any other Occasion whatsoever. I peruse it with as little partiality, as if it were written by any in *America* ; *refrigerato Inventionis amore, diligentius repetitum tanquam Lector perpendo.*

XIX.

NEVERTHELESS I must not, neither ought or can I, accuse my self of Opinions I never believ'd nor maintain'd, such as *Arianism*, *Socinianism*, or the like; and whatever may be untenable in the Book (which we shall see anon) I plainly assert that of those *Positions* censur'd by *the lower House* som are falsly represented, som are undoubtedly true, and none so bad as they make 'em. The Design imputed to me in the whole I utterly deny and renounce, as I have already largely don towards the Beginning of this Discourse. The first *Proposition* is unfairly represented, and bears a quite diffe-

different Sense in the Book.
It is This. *I conclude that nei-*
ther God himself, nor any of his
Attributes, are Myſteries to us Pag. 80.
for Want of an adequate Idea. 2 Edit.

Who wou'd not think now
but that I pretended to have
an Adequat Idea of God, and
that my finit Capacity com-
prehended all his infinit Per-
fections? But I was in that
Chapter poſitively proving the
contrary, and ſhowing that we
knew not the real Eſſence of
any Thing in the World, let
alone of God: that Things
were only known to us by their
Properties, yet that we had
not a diſtinct View even of all
the Properties of any Thing at
once: that every Pebble and
Spire of Graſs being in many
of their Properties, and alto-

gether in their Essence, above our Understanding, nothing ought to be peculiarly call'd a *Mystery* on this Account, since every Thing was so: and that therefore when we knew as many of the Properties of any Thing as made us understand the Name of it, and as were useful and necessary for us, this was enough for our present Condition, and we might be reasonably said to comprehend it. Accordingly I acknowledged there in express Words, that *we know not the Nature of that eternal Subject or Essence wherein infinit Goodness, Love, Knowledge, Power, and Wisdom coexist*: and that as we knew nothing of Things but such of their Properties as were necessary and useful, we might say the same of
God;

GOD ; for every Act of our Religion is directed by som of his Attributes without ever thinking of his Essence : our Love to him is kindl'd by his Goodness, and our Thankfulness by his Mercy, our Obedience is regulated by his Justice, and our Hopes are confirm'd by his Wisdom and Power. At last from several Reasonings to this Purpose, I conclude that nothing is a *Mystery* because we know not its Essence, since it appears that it is neither knowable in it self, nor ever thought of by us. In a word that it was too general a Notion, making all Things *Myseries* alike ; wheras somthing more particular was intended by the Word, since one Thing was a *Mystery* and not another. So I declar'd my self fixt in the Opinion that

what infinit Goodness has not bin pleas'd to reveal to us, we are sufficiently capable to discover our selves, or need not understand it all. But this in the Opinion of *the lower House*, is atheistical and detestable, dangerous, pernicious, scandalous, and destructive of the *Christian Faith*. Nevertheless, I declare my self under my Hand to be still of the same Mind, that Things are improperly call'd *Mysteries* because we are ignorant of their Essence, if we understand so many of their Properties as are necessary or useful: and whoever infers from hence, that I pretend to have an adequat Idea of God, may as well charge the holy *Scriptures* with, saying that there is no God, or that JESUS CHRIST was a Winebibber

ber and a Glutton : for ten thousand Blasphemies and Absurdities will follow, either upon taking a few Words of any Author without showing their Connection with the rest of his Discourse; or by culling Expressions that lie in different Places, and tacking 'em together to make up a Proposition wherof the Writer never thought, or which he may execrat and abhor.

XX.

AS for the Second Proposition, I shall here set down the intire Passage, and then explain it. *Revelation, c. 17.v. 5-7. Pa. 106.*
Upon her forehead was a Name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, &c. And the

*the Angel said --- I will tell thee
the MYSTERY of the woman.*

*‘ This He performs too in the
‘ following Verses, which you
‘ may consult. Nor is it un-
‘ deserving our particular No-
‘ tice, that MYSTERY is here
‘ made the distinguishing Cha-
‘ racter of the false or *antichri-
‘ stian* Church. MYSTERY is a
‘ Name written on her forehead;
‘ that is, all her Religion con-
‘ sists in MYSTERY; She openly
‘ owns, She enjoins the Belief
‘ of MYSTERIES. And, no Doubt
‘ on’t, as far as any Church al-
‘ lows of MYSTERIES so far it is
‘ *antichristian*; and may with a
‘ great Deal of Justice, tho lit-
‘ tle Honor, claim Kindred
‘ with the scarlet Whore.
This is crudely spoken, and
not strictly true, as som of my
An-*

Answerers have explain'd the Word *Mystery*. The Sense that I oppos'd all along, was, when MYSTERY is made to signifie a *Thing of its own Nature inconceivable, and not to be judg'd of by our ordinary Faculties or Ideas, tho never so clearly reveal'd.* This is the Refuge of the *Papists* to defend all their absurd or inconceivable Articles, and it is obvious to every Reader that I had their Notions very much in my View, which might lead me somtimes into Expressions that were too general, as now I take this *Position* to be ; for som of my Answerers having disclaim'd that Sense of the word *Mystery*, and professing that the *Church of England* means no more by it than a *Doctrin* wherin tho there appears
no

no Contradiction, and that it is clearly understood in Part, yet that a great Deal of it is still above our Comprehension, which we are bound to believe on the Credit and Authority of the Revealer. In this Sense my Words are not true of the *Reform'd Churches*, and are only applicable to *Papists, Mahometans, Heathens*, and such others. The Author of the *Occasional Paper*, Num. 3. ingenuously owns that *my chief Arguments are directed against those who denote by the word MYSTERY a Thing so far above us, that we do not at all conceive what is meant by it, nor have any Notion of the Matter; and he believes I shall hardly find any in the Church of England that talk in such a Manner.* He says, what I approve, that a
Doctrin

Doctrin may be said to be above Pag. 16.

Reason when we can from the Revelation apprehend it only in Part, know so much of it as may answer the wise Ends of the Revelation; but for other Parts of it they may be quite out of our Reach and above our Apprehension, so that we cannot form any clear and distinct Ideas of the whole Doctrin; and such Points as these are chiefly what we call Mysteries in Religion. Afterwards

he hopes we may still agree, For if I but grant him such Pag. 26.

Points as these, where we apprehend but in Part, but however so much as may be of good Use and Service to us; He will on his side gratify me by rejecting all Doctrins of which we can apprehend Nothing, and of which we can make no Use. I do in

all

all Sincerity shake Hands with this Author, acknowledging his Moderation and fair Dealing in the whole Controversy, which shows him to love the Truth and not to hate a Man he took for his Adversary, but who is to be consider'd by him as such no longer. Before I have don I shall yet further own what I have profited by his Information, and convince him, that the charitable Opinion he has more than once exprest of my Intention, was not wholly without Ground; nor cou'd this Difference have so long subsisted, had others treated me in their Writings with the like Humanity and *Christian* Temper.

XXI.

IT was upon the same Foot
with the former *Proposition* that
I asserted *Contradiction* and *My-*
stery to be only two emphati-
cal Ways of saying *Nothing*, as
is evident from the Scope of
the whole Passage, which runs
in these Words: ‘The Sub-
‘ject of *Faith* must be intelli- Pa. 134.
‘gible to all, since the Belief
‘therof is commanded under
‘no less a Penalty than Dam-
‘nation. *He that believeth not*
‘*shall be damn’d.* But shall any
‘be damn’d for the Nonper-
‘formance of Impossibilities?
‘Obligations to believe do
‘therefore suppose a Possibi-
‘lity to understand. I shew’d
‘before

‘ before that *Contradiction* and
‘ *Nothing* were convertible
‘ Terms; and I may say now
‘ as much of *Mystery* in the
‘ Theological Sense: for to
‘ speak freely *Contradiction* and
‘ *Mystery* are but two empha-
‘ tical Ways of saying No-
‘ thing. *Contradiction* expresses
‘ *Nothing* by a Couple of Ideas
‘ that destroy one another, and
‘ *Mystery* expresses *Nothing* by
‘ Words that have no Idea at
‘ all. In like Manner is to be
understood the Fourth Posi-
tion concerning *Faith*; and
I shou’d accordingly have cor-
rected those Passages were I to
make any further Editions of
that Book.

XXII.

THE last *Position* is misrepresented like the First. *Here's* Page 163: enough to show how Christianity became *Mysterious*, and how so *divine an Institution* did, thro the *Craft and Ambition* of Priests and Philosophers, *degenerat into mere Paganism*. These Words indeed are mine; but without attending to the Discourse immediately foregoing (from which they are a Conclusion) they must needs sound harshly to many good and pious Men, who may be Strangers to the Things wherof I treat in that Place. I was giving a brief Account of the manifold Superstitions, mysterious and useless Rites, that the new-converted *Heathens* introduc'd into the *Christian Religion*,

ligion, which did a World of Injury to the plain Dress and beautiful Facility of the *Gospel*. They increast by Degrees to such a Number that the Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* were transform'd by their Means to Rites very different from their first Institution. I mention particularly the Milk and Hony, the Unction, white Garment, frequent Questions and Responses, Salt and Wine, Lights, Exorcisms, Exsufflations, and Crossings, added to *Baptism*. By the same Means did the *Lord's Supper* in succeeding Ages grow up into the absurd and monstrous Doctrin of *Transubstantiation*. I produce those superstitious Observations in public *Penance*, which brought it at length to privat *Confession*; and pointed to the first Foot-
steps

steps of that spiritual Empire to which the *Clergy* have erected themselves in the Church of *Rome*. Of these Ceremonies som are very useless, som very ridiculous, others very profane, a few of 'em very innocent, and all together very burdensom, if not intolerable. I think still I had Reason to say that *such Things never fail to take off the Mind from the Substance of Religion, and to lead Men into dangerous Mistakes*; of which there is the clearest Demonstration from *Popery*, wherein those and a great many other Ceremonies are daily us'd after the Manner of the *Heathens*, and the practical Part of their Religion dos scarce consist in any Thing else. I did say therfore that the divine Institution of *Christianity* did thus degenerat into mere

H 2 *Paganism*;

Paganism; but this cannot affect any Church where *Christianity* is taught and practis'd without those Disguizes, where the holy *Scriptures* are made the only Foundation and Model of Religion, and where neither the Worship nor Disciplin are overwhelm'd by those Ceremonies of *Heathen* or *Jewish* Original. For my Part, I think the Church of *Rome*, and som Eastern Sects, to be in these Things, as well as in their Idolatry, Frauds, and Tyrannical Impositions worse than *Pagans*; and that their assuming the Name of *CHRIST*, without imbracing the Purity of his Doctrin, cannot be of any Effect to Sanctify their superstitions, no more than a Man who forcibly takes away the Goods of another is ever the less a Robber, because he
pre-

pretends to borrow them, or Nero was the more a friend to Liberty tho he was created *Consul* and *Tribun* of the People.

XXIII.

I T was of the *Clergymen* who introduc'd and countenanc'd such Practices, and who set up the most abominable of all Tyrany in the Church, that I have so frequently complain'd; but never against the whole Order, as it sufficiently appears by the last paragraph of the *Preface*, which being a full Vindication against the Calumny of being their Enemy, I shall transcribe in this Place. ' To all corrupt
' *Clergymen* who make a mere
' Trade of Religion, and build
' an unjust Authority upon the
' abus'd Consciences of the *Lai-*

Pag. 30.

‘ ty, I’m a profest Adversary ;
‘ as I hope every good and wise
‘ Man already is, or will be.
‘ But as I shall always remain
‘ a hearty Friend to pure and
‘ genuin Religion, so I shall
‘ preserve the highest Venerati-
‘ on for the sincere Teachers
‘ therof, than whom there is not
‘ a more useful Order of Men,
‘ and without whom there cou’d
‘ not be any happy Society or
‘ well constituted Government in
‘ this World; to speak nothing
‘ of their Relation to the World
‘ to com, nor of the double E-
‘ steem which they deserve for
‘ keeping proof against the ge-
‘ neral Infection of their Pro-
‘ fession. But I have no Ap-
‘ prehensions from the Sincere ;
‘ and if the designing Party dis-
‘ cover their Concern by their
‘ Displeasure, it may well serve
‘ for

E H

‘ for a Mark to distinguish
‘ them, but will not be thought
‘ an Injury by Me.

XXIV.

AS for that *Position* which
My Lords the *Bishops* extracted
out of my Book, and which
they look upon as the Founda-
tion of all the Errors they con-
ceive to be contain’d therein,
I freely acknowledge that on ma-
ture Consideration it appears
to my self unwarily exprest,
beyond my Intention, and (as
the Author of the *Occasional*
Paper justly observes) contrary
to other Passages which are ve-
ry clear and exprest. It bears a
Sense I can by no Means ap-
prove, no more than any Thing
that is a direct Consequence
from it. Instead therefore of
H 4 saying

saying that *REVELATION* was not a necessitating Motive of Assent, but a Means of Information, I ought to have said, *REVELATION* was not only a necessitating Motive of Assent, but likewise a Means of Information. The most distinct Ideas in the World are not a sufficient Ground of Persuasion, for they prove no more then that such a Thing may be; but to be convinc'd that it dos actually exist, we must have our own Experience, or the Authority either of divine or human Testimony. This the Writer just now cited evinces beyond all Dispute. Therefore after having thus corrected this *Position*, and whatever depends upon it, I declare notwithstanding that I shall never consent or contribute to any more Editions of that Book
(leaving

(leaving the *Lower House of Convocation* to answer for any further spreading of it by reason of the Noise they have made about it) neither will I defend what may be objected against it by any Persons whatsoever, desiring it may no longer be consider'd as a Work I wholly approve, unless I wou'd still continue to be five and twenty, and obstinately justify all the undigested Notions, all the Rashness and Indiscretions of such an Age. On the contrary, if I have really given any public or privat Scandal by that Book, if I have disquieted the Minds of particular Men, or disturb'd the general Peace of the Church, I am truly sorry for it, and humbly beg Pardon for the same of God Almighty and all good Men. I de-

defended my self before from the horrible Charge of *Atheism*, which is not only the Denyal of G O D, but also of the future Existence and Immortality of the Soul, of the Rewards attending the Good, and the Punishments due to the Wicked; all which I stedfastly believe. I have no Doubts concerning the Excellence, Perfection, and Divinity of the *Christian Religion* in general as it is delivered in the holy *Scriptures*, and I willingly and heartily conform to the Doctrin and Worship of the *Church of England* in particular. As to my Thoughts about our Communion with other *Protestants*, and the *Toleration* of such as dissent from us, I have largely deliver'd 'em before in *Anglia Libera*, and shall now insert the Passage here,

to

to avoid the Repetition of the
same Things in other Words.

XXIII.

‘ THO Such as call their
‘ *Religion* under Examination
‘ do often differ in their No-
‘ tions about it, yet in all Con-
‘ tries of the World the great-
‘ est Part of the People give
‘ themselves up to the public
‘ Leading in divine Things as
‘ well as in other Matters ; and
‘ this they do whether the ge-
‘ nerally receiv’d Opinions hap-
‘ pen to be true or erroneous.
‘ It were to be earnestly wisht,
‘ no doubt, that every Regi-
‘ on were free from Error,
‘ and had sincerely receiv’d the
‘ Truth ; but tho Men deny
‘ themselves this Happiness by
‘ indulging their Vices, mind-
ing

‘ ing nothing but their Busi-
‘ ness, or for Want of Consi-
‘ deration : yet *Religion* it self
‘ is not more natural to Man,
‘ than it is for every Govern-
‘ ment to have a *national Re-*
‘ *ligion* ; or som public and
‘ orderly way of worshipping
‘ G O D, under the Allowance,
‘ Indowment, and Inspection
‘ of the Civil Magistrat. It
‘ was the highest Favour this
‘ Iland cou’d receive from Hea-
‘ ven to be delivered from the
‘ intolerable Yoke of *Popish*
‘ Superstition, and to have the
‘ purer Worship of God im-
‘ brac’d by the Majority of
‘ the People. And tho *Prote-*
‘ *stants* in general are unhap-
‘ pily divided among them-
‘ selves about som Articles of
‘ more or less Importance, yet
‘ they are all agreed about
‘ the

‘ the main Points of Religi-
‘ on, and jointly abhor the I-
‘ dolatry and Tyranny of the
‘ *Romish* Clergy. Wherefore
‘ (after the numberless Artifi-
‘ ces of the common Enemy
‘ to encrease their Divisions)
‘ I hope they are all now com-
‘ to so good an Understanding
‘ and so charitable a Disposi-
‘ tion, as to allow, that altho
‘ each of ’em may think his
‘ own Disciplin and Doctrin
‘ to be better than any of the
‘ rest ; yet that, when he hap-
‘ pens to be in another Con-
‘ try, he may safely join with
‘ the *Protestants* of that place,
‘ without any Danger to his
‘ Soul or Scandal to his Pro-
‘ fession. But as to our own
‘ Kingdom in particular (where
‘ the different Sects are more
‘ numerous Bodies, with Re-
‘ lation

‘ lation to one another, than
‘ in any other Place) the *Natio-*
‘ *nal Church* is much the best
‘ Constitution in it self, natu-
‘ rally allows of a more ge-
‘ nerous Latitude than the o-
‘ thers, and is infinitely the most
‘ accommodated to our Civil
‘ Government, which is a ma-
‘ terial Point in the Disciplin
‘ of every *National Church*. But
‘ supposing that any of the
‘ rest might equal it in these
‘ Respects, yet being already
‘ and so long establisht, it were
‘ the highest Folly as well as
‘ Injustice in the Government
‘ to change it on this Account,
‘ especially since it has at least
‘ as few Errors as any other
‘ Church in the World. But
‘ I also declare that by appro-
‘ ving the *National Church*, and
‘ owning my self a Member
‘ of

‘ of the same, I do not think
‘ it a Doctrin of this Church
‘ to persecute or disturb those
‘ of another Religion which dos
‘ not teach or practise any
‘ Thing that’s cruel, immoral,
‘ or profane. The Liberty of
‘ the Understanding is yet a
‘ nobler Principle than that of
‘ the Body, if this be not a
‘ Distinction (as they say) with-
‘ out a Difference ; and where
‘ there is no *Liberty of Consci-*
‘ *ence* there can be no *Civil Li-*
‘ *berty*, no Incouragement for
‘ Industry, no proper Means of
‘ rendring the Contry popu-
‘ lous, no Possibility of Men’s
‘ freely informing themselves
‘ concerning the true Religi-
‘ on, nor any Refuge or Pro-
‘ tection for the Distrest, which
‘ is the greatest Glory of free
‘ Governments. But as the *Na-*
‘ *tional*

‘ *tional Religion* ought not to
‘ oppress the *Dissenters* from it
‘ in their Persons or Possessi-
‘ ons, nor to exclude ’em from
‘ any Privileges in the State to
‘ which they have a Right by
‘ Birth, Naturalization, or o-
‘ therwise; so the *tolerated Re-*
‘ *ligions* must maintain their
‘ own Teachers (their Dissent
‘ from the Public being volun-
‘ tary) and not pretend to the
‘ Places of Worship, or to the
‘ allow’d Maintenance, nor to
‘ any other Rights or Emolu-
‘ ments of the *National Church*,
‘ under Pain of being account-
‘ ed Hypocrits grasping at Do-
‘ minion instead of designing
‘ Reformation, to have their
‘ Liberty taken away, and their
‘ Persons to be put out of the
‘ Protection of the Govern-
‘ ment. But whatever Indul-
‘ gence

‘ gence may be due to other
‘ Persuasions, *Papists* ought not
‘ to be tolerated in any free
‘ State, because they not only
‘ deny Liberty to all others,
‘ and pronounce ’em eternally
‘ damn’d ; but also because
‘ they are Subjects to a foren
‘ Head whose Authority they
‘ prefer to that of their native
‘ Magistrats, and that their Do-
‘ ctrin of Dispensation leaves
‘ ’em under no Tyes of Oaths
‘ or other Ingagements, as their
‘ allowing no Faith to be kept
‘ with *Heretics*, makes ’em incapa-
‘ ble of holding any Fellowship
‘ on the Square with such as are
‘ not reckon’d *Orthodox* by their
‘ infallible Head, another Do-
‘ ctrin inconsistent with all pri-
‘ vat Faith or public Socie-
‘ ty. Sad Experience has put
‘ I these

‘ these Things beyond Que-
‘ stion in every Part of the
‘ World ; and therefore they
‘ can never be too much con-
‘ sider’d by the States of the
‘ *Reform’d Religion*. We can
‘ never be too much put in
‘ mind of the Genius of their
‘ Persuasion, and what we are
‘ always to apprehend from
‘ them. Wherefore I hope I
‘ need not spend many Words
‘ to persuade *Englishmen* that
‘ *Popery* in general is an Ex-
‘ tract of whatever is ridicu-
‘ lous, knavish, or impious in
‘ all Religions ; that it is Priest-
‘ craft arriv’d at the highest
‘ Perfection ; that it contains
‘ peculiar Absurdities, never
‘ known in any other Persuasi-
‘ on ; and that it is the most
‘ insolent Imposition that ever
‘ was

was made on the Credulity
of Mankind, &c.

XXVI.

THUS have I given ample Satisfaction, I hope, to all good *Christians* who are Lovers of Docility, Moderation, and Truth. I have likewise kept my Word with the late *Lower House of Convocation*, having told 'em in my first Letter (which in my Second I said shou'd be Part of my Defence) that *I thought my self more oblig'd to write in Relation to the Animadversions of a Public Body, than against any Privat Person how considerable soever.* The Opinion of many People generally obtains more Weight than that of any one Man,

besides that I knew with whom I had to do ; wheras a nameless Writer may throw out at Random whatever comes in his Way without any Regard to Truth or the Mérits of the Cause : yet he is conceal'd from the Hands of Justice and the Resentments of his Adversary, which in Matters of Fact takes away his Credit with all Men of Justice or Honor ; since no Body is secure from the Accusation of any Guilt, when the Reputation of his Accuser is no more to be known, than his Person is accountable. Tis som Comfort if you have not a generous Adversary, to meet with a considerable one :

Optat

Optat Aprum aut fulvum descendere monte Leonem.

But I see no Ground to think the late *Lower House of Convocation* was freer from Error, Passion, or Interest, than the antient *Councils*, and other *Ecclesiastic Assemblies*, of whose Proceedings we are inform'd by History, where we find that they were often summon'd to serve the Ends of a Faction or some great Man; and sometimes when they were not, that there reign'd among 'em a great Deal of scandalous Partiality, indecent Warmth, and cruel Animosities, of perverse Contentions and Wranglings, of mere worldly Design and Interest, which made the Issue of such Assemblies seldom to prove for the

Good of Religion or the Peace of the State, and to be extremely dreaded by som of the brightest Luminaries of the Church. Being compos'd of Men obnoxious to all Sorts of Passions, they cou'd no more be infallible all together, than any one of 'em was in his single Capacity. Tis but a small Number, a very small Number of those *Synods* that had any Right (as may be seen by their Determinations) to arrogat to themselves those Words of the *Apostles* in their Consult at *Jerusalem*, *It seems Good to the Holy Ghost and to us.* In the Hymns of our Church the *Holy Ghost* is truly stil'd the *G O D of P E A C E and L O V E*; and were I not convinc'd before from the Nature of the Thing, and

and by the Writings of the most eminent Reformers, that the *Holy Ghost* dos not necessarily and extraordinarily preside over every *Synod*, I shou'd have abundant Satisfaction about it from the Proceedings of the late *Lower House of Convocation*.

XXVII.

THAT I am not overconfident of my own Judgment is clear at least from this present Discourse, and I shall pay all reasonable Deference and Submission to the deliberat, serious, prudent, impartial, and peaceable Deliberations of any great Number of Men; but yet without they inlighten my Un-

derstanding and convince my Judgment, it is impossible for me to give them my Assent in perplext or dubious Matters, much less to be sway'd in any Thing by their bare Authority against the clear Persuasion of my own Mind. As that excellent Person Dr. TILLOTSON, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, says, *It is neither Immodesty nor a culpable Singularity for a Man to stand alone in the Defence of the Truth*, in his

Pag. 28. admirable Sermon concerning *Stedfastness in Religion*. In the same Discourse he has these Ex-

Pag. 18. pressions: *If all the great Mathematicians of all Ages, ARCHIMEDES, and EUCLID, and APPOLLONIUS, and DIOPHANTUS, &c. cou'd be suppos'd to meet together in a General*

neral Council, and shou'd there declare in the most solemn Manner, and give it under their Hands and Seals, that twice two did not make four, but five; this wou'd not move me in the least to be of their Mind. Nay I, who am no Mathematician, wou'd maintain the contrary, and wou'd persist in it without being in the least startl'd by the positive Opinion of these great and learned Men: and shou'd most certainly conclude, that they were either all of 'em out of their Wits, or that they were byass'd by som Interest or other, and sway'd against the clear Evidence of Truth, and the full Conviction of their own Reason, to make such a Determination as this. They might indeed over-rule the Point by their Authority, but in my inward

ward Judgment I shou'd still be where I was before. And to show that a Man ought not to be put out of Countenance by the Name of a Church, or be born down by the Number of a Council, he cites the concurrent Judgment of Mr. HOOKER in his deservedly admir'd Book of *Ecclesiastical Policy*. *Altho ten thousand General Councils* (says that most learned Divine) *shou'd set down one and the same definitive Sentence concerning any Point of Religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative Reason alledg'd, or one Testimony cited from the Word of GOD himself to the contrary, cou'd not chuse but oversway them all: in as much as for them to be deceiv'd is not so impossible, as it is that demonstrative*

Pag. 25.
26.

strative Reason or divine Testimony shou'd deceive. And again, That the Authority of Men shou'd prevail with Men, either against or above Reason, is no part of our Belief. Companies of Learned Men, tho they be never so Great and Reverend, are to yield unto Reason, the weight wherof is no Whit prejudic'd by the Simplicity of the Person which doth alledg it; but, being found to be sound and good, the bare Opinion of Men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place. This he conceives to be the Judgment of the Church of England as well as his own; so did CRANMER, JEWEL, CHILLINGWORTH, with the most applauded and respected Writers since the Reformation. I need say no more to justify this
De-

Defence of my self against the late *lower House of Convocation*, against the *Narrative* drawn up by their Order, and the *Publisher* of the same who was likewise one of their Members, and may be presum'd to speak their Sense. Their Proceedings against my Book I conceive to have bin neither fair in themselves, nor warranted by their own Privileges, but expressly against a *Statute*; not to insist again on the satisfaction offer'd 'em in my *Letters*, and that none of the *Positions* (however otherwise erroneous) were contrary to any Law of this Realm.

XXVIII.

THUS I have don with the *Convocation* ; and shou'd have don Writing, did I not think this a fit Place to set People to rights about another Objection which has bin commonly join'd to the Charge of *Heresy* against me, which is, that *I am a great Common-wealths-man*, the Truth wherof I freely own, and value my self upon being so. Ever since I knew what it was to be a Member of civil Society, or to concern my self about the Nature of Government, I have bin wholly devoted to the self-evident Principle of *Liberty*, and a profest Enemy to *Slavery* and arbitrary Power.

Power. I have always bin, now am, and ever shall be persuaded that all Sorts of Magistrats are made for and by the People, and not the People for or by the Magistrats : that the Power of all Governors is originally conferr'd by the Society, and limited to their Safety, Wealth, and Glory, which makes those Governors accountable for their Trust : and consequently that it is lawful to resist and punish Tyrants of all Kinds, be it a single Person or greater Number of Men ; for the Case was just alike to the People of *Denmark* (for Example) whether their *House of Commons* had assum'd an unlimited Authority to themselves, or conferr'd such a Power (as they did) on their King. I
am

am therefore evidently and avowedly a *Common-wealths-man*.

Tis true, that in the late Reigns all those who espous'd the Liberty and defended the Constitution of their Contry against the manifest Incroachments and despotic Counsils of our Kings, were by the Court-flatterers and Pensioners nicknam'd *Common-wealths men*, by which they insinuated 'em to be irreconcilable Enemies to regal Government, and men, who, if they did not design a downright *Anarchy*, yet were intirely for a *Democracy*. That I am of any such Principle I positively deny, and assert it to be a Calumny rais'd by som of those who were formerly more than ordinarily remarkable in abetting and encouraging the destru-

structive Measures of the Court. The contrary appears in every Thing I ever wrote, having never bin for a *Democracy* which I think to be the worst Form of a *Common-wealth*, tho a thousand Times better than any Sort of *Tyranny*. In *Anglia Libera*, I declare that *I mean by the word*

Pag. 92. *Common-wealth not a pure Democracy, nor any particular Form of Government ; but an independent Community, where the common-weal or Good of all indifferently is design'd and pursu'd, let the Form be what it will. Before this, in the Art of governing by Parties, I fully deliver'd my Sense of our own and all other Governments in these Words.*

Pag. 31. *' All the world knows that Eng-
' land is under a free Govern-
' ment, whose supreme legisla-
' tive*

‘ tive Power is lodg’d in the
‘ King, Lords, and Commons,
‘ each of which have their pe-
‘ culiar Privileges and Preroga-
‘ tives ; no Law can pass with-
‘ out their common Authority
‘ or Consent ; and they are a
‘ mutual Check and Balance on
‘ one another’s Oversights or
‘ Incroachments. This Go-
‘ vernment is calculated for
‘ the Interest of all the Parties
‘ concern’d, which are all the
‘ Inhabitants of *England* ;
‘ wherfore it depends on their
‘ good Will, and is supported
‘ by their Wealth and Power.
‘ But in *absolute Monarchy* all
‘ Things are only subservient
‘ to the Pleasure or Grandeur
‘ of the *Prince*, who therefore
‘ by Force of Arms maintains
‘ his Dominion over the Peo-
‘ ple,

K

‘ People, on whom he looks
‘ but as his Herd and Inheri-
‘ tance, to be us’d and dispos’d
‘ as he thinks convenient. In
‘ Opposition to such *arbitrary*
‘ *Governments*, those have bin
‘ call’d *Common wealths* where
‘ the common Good of all was
‘ indifferently design’d and
‘ pursu’d. But tho’ they agree
‘ in their main End, yet they
‘ often differ about the Means,
‘ in the Names of their Magi-
‘ strats, and som other Cir-
‘ cumstances. Thus the two
‘ Kings of *Sparta* had no more
‘ Authority than a Duke of
‘ *Venice*; and the Stadtholder
‘ of *Holland* has more real
‘ Power, tho less State and
‘ Dignity, than either of ’em.
‘ A *Common-wealth*, when the
‘ Administration lies in the Peo-
‘ ple,

ple, is call'd a *Democracy* ;
when tis solely or for the
most Part in the Nobility,
tis then an *Aristocracy* ; but
when tis shar'd between the
Commons, the Lords, and
the supreme Magistrat (term
him King, Duke, Emperor,
or what you please) tis then
a *mixt Form*, and is by P o-
LYBIUS, and many judici-
ous Politicians among the
Antients, esteem'd the most
equal, lasting, and perfect of
all others. In this sense *Eng-
land* is undeniably a *Common-
wealth*, tho it be ordinarily
stil'd a *Monarchy*, because the
chief Magistrat is call'd a
KING. Such as are afraid
therefore that *England* shou'd
becom a *Common-wealth*, may
be suspected not to under-
stand

‘ stand their own Language ;
‘ and those who talk of ma-
‘ king it one, may dream of
‘ turning it into an *Aristocracy*
‘ or *Democracy*, but can never
‘ make it more a *Common-wealth*
‘ than it is already. This is our
‘ admirable Constitution. And,
to bring no more Instances,
in the Preface to HARRINGTON’S
Life and Works, I say, that if
‘ a *Common-wealth* be a Go-
‘ vernment of *Laws* enacted
‘ for the common Good of
‘ all the People, not without
‘ their own Consent or Ap-
‘ probation ; and that they
‘ are not wholly excluded, as
‘ in *absolute Monarchy*, which
‘ is a Government of *Men*
‘ who forcibly rule over o-
‘ thers for their own privat
‘ Interest: then it is undenia-
bly,

‘ bly manifest that the *Eng-*
‘ *lish* Government is already a
‘ *Common-wealth*, the most free
‘ and best constituted in all
‘ the world. This was frank-
‘ ly acknowledg’d by King
‘ JAMES the First, who stil’d
‘ himself *the great Servant of*
‘ *the COMMON-WEALTH*, and
‘ it is the Language of our best
‘ Lawyers.

XXIX.

THIS is the Sense in
which I own my self a *Com-*
mon-wealths man, and in which
I take *England* to be now a
Common-wealth. This is what
I mean by being a *Whig*, and
what I have ever understood
from all those People call’d

Whigs either by themselves, or by their Enemies; and if any that ever was reputed a *Whig* has thought or acted otherwise let the Fault remain his own, and not be imputed to such as disclaim all Practises inconsistent with their Professions. If there be any who approve at present what they condemn'd in the late Reigns, who envy those Privileges to others which they justly demanded then as the Rights of all Mankind, these were never truly concern'd for *Liberty*, but only wanted more indulgent Masters, and such as wou'd be partial in their Favor, whatever Hardships they might lay on other People. For such Sort of Persons (whoever they may

may be) I have nothing to say ;

*Tu quoque pro Dominis, & Pompeiana fuisti,
Non Romana Manus.*

But then let not the whole Party suffer for the Faults of a few, nor the Miscarriages of any be made the Consequence of a Principle they disown or disgrace ; I mean the Principle of a *Common-wealths-man*, to which I am firmly resolv'd to adhere, and will openly defend so Noble a Cause tho all the World shou'd desert or be asham'd to own it. From this Principle it is, that the *Whigs* were no less zealous and seasonable in setting the Crown on

King WILLIAM'S Head, than they have bin hearty and constant ever since to defend his Person, to support his Right and Dignity against all foren or domestic Enemies, and that they are always ready to put him in a Capacity of maintaining the Honor of the Nation, of assisting our Allies, and Protecting the *Reform'd Churches*. Acted by the same Principle, they have so unanimously promoted and confirm'd the Title of her *Royal Highness* the *Princess ANNE* of *Denmark*, to whom they have never bin wanting in their Respects on any Occasion, contrary to the malicious Insinuations of a certain Tribe, whose detested Cause must be upheld

upheld by Falshood where it fails of violence: but the Interest of that illustrious *Princess* has ingag'd her (no Doubt) to study the Constitution of this Kingdom too well to be deceiv'd by such chimerical Infamations; and questionless she's better inform'd by her faithful Servants than to believe the *Whigs* had ever any Thoughts to her Disadvantage, much less that they made indecent Reflections on Her in public Places, this being the most notorious Calumny that cou'd be utter'd, and which they defy any one credible Witness to prove. Nor needs she require a better Demonstration that the Genius of the People is intirely fixt in the Principle of
Li-

Liberty, than the Endeavors of the *Jacobites* to persuade the World that the *Republicans* have thrown away their old Opinions, and that they have taken 'em up, which is plainly valuing themselves (how undeservedly soever) on those good Qualities which they have discover'd to be acceptable to the Nation. And she cannot be ignorant that none of those are sincerely her Friends who oppose the Oath of *Abjuration*, it being impossible that any shou'd favor her Title who scruple renouncing that of the pretended *Prince of Wales* (these being utterly irreconcilable and incompatible) whereas the *Whigs*, were they so madly dispos'd, cou'd not violat the Establishment of her

her Right, without unsettling all the Securities they have for their present or future Happiness, without unravelling all they have hitherto desir'd or obtain'd, without exposing themselves to the Fury of their most implacable Enemies, and without incurring the Hatred of all the World for their palpable Hypocrisy, in having so much Respect to Persons, and none at all to Things. And perhaps it is not unworthy her *Highnesses* Consideration, whether such as endeavor to possess her with these pernicious Jealousies, have not a Design to put her in good Earnest on such Measures, as may lose her the Confidence of her best Friends, in a Way sufficient to justify their Conduct,

duct, and yet not gain one of her Enemies to fortify or maintain her Interest. Tis from this same Principle of *Liberty* that the *Whigs* have bin so forward and active in providing for the Succession of the Crown, and settling it in the *Protestant Line* on the most excellent Princess *SOPHIA* and her Issue in the House of *Hanover* ; which is no Sign they are for a *Democracy* or Enemies to Kingly Government , this being the most numerous princely Family in *Europe* : and being Strangers, tis fit they shou'd know, that all the Enemies to his present *Majesty*, or their *Succession*, are such as formerly past for the greatest *Royalists*, and carry'd the Preference and Pretences of
of

of *Monarchy* so high as to make its Original of *Divine Right* exclusive to all other Governments ; wheras, such as were in those Days branded with the Name of *Commonwealthsmen*, are unalterably loyal to King *WILLIAM*, and prepar'd to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in Maintenance of the Succession in the *Protestant Line* against the pretended *Prince of Wales*, and all other Pretenders, their open or secret Abettors. This is the naked Truth, and *GOD* grant the Persons concern'd to make a right Use of it.

XXX.

XXX

SUCH Sort of Men are *English Republicans*, nor are they improperly distinguish'd by this Denomination. * A COMMONWEALTH, says C I C E R O, is the Common-weal of the People, when it is well and justly manag'd, whether by one King, a few Nobles, or the whole People. But when the King is unjust (whom I call a Tyrant) or the Nobles are unjust (whose Combination

* Respublica Res est Populi, cum bene ac juste geritur, sive ab uno Rege, sive à paucis Optimatibus, sive ab universo Populo. Cum vero injustus est Rex, (quem Tyrannum voco) aut injusti Optimates (quorum Consensus Factio est)

is

is a Faction) or the People themselves are unjust (for whom I find no usual Appellation unless I call 'em Tyrants) then it is not a faulty Commonwealth, but really none at all: for it is not the Weal of the People, when a Tyrant or a Faction disposes of 'em; and the People themselves are no longer a People when they become unjust, because they are not (according as People are defin'd by Legislators) a Multitude associated by Consent of Laws,

aut injustus ipse Populus (cui Nomen usitatum nullum reperio nisi ut ipsum Tyrannum appellem) non jam vitiosa, sed omnino nulla Respublica est: quoniam non Res est Populi, cum Tyrannus eam Factione capeffat; nec ipse Populus jam Populus est si sit injustus, quoniam non
and

and a Communication of Advantage. A COMMONWEALTH therefore is the general Denomination of all free Governments, and I think the particular Form of the *English Commonwealth* to be the best in the World. Now I expect som of my Readers will be startled at the very Sound of a COMMONWEALTH, a Word they have bin taught to hear with Abhorrence, and to which from their Infancy they have bin accustom'd to annex the most dread-

est Multitudo Juris Consensu & Utilitatis
Communione sociata.

Fragment. Cicer. ex lib. 3. de Repub.
apud Augustin. de Civ. Dei. l. 2. c. 21.

ful

ful Ideas of *Anarchy, Confusion, Levelling, Sedition*, and a thousand other terrible Things : whereas it really signifies Liberty and Order, equal Laws, strict and impartial Justice, a wise and liberal Education ; a sober and frugal Management in privat Oeconomy, an upright and disinterested Administration of the public Revenues ; the natural Soil of Industry, Wealth, and Power, of ingenious Arts and useful Inventions ; a Nursery of capacious, daring, and gallants Spirits, an Example of noble and generous Actions, a Promoter of great and glorious Undertakings ; a Place where the *National Religion* is duly maintain'd and piously observ'd, with an allow'd Toleration to *innocent Dissenters*, where

L

Vice

Vice is severely punisht (tho it can never be totally extirpated) where Virtue is amply incourag'd (tho it be still the greatest Recompence to it self) and where the Merit of *deserving Citizens* obtains those honorable Characters and lasting Monuments after Death, which their own Modesty or the Envy of others might happen to deny 'em alive. Yet such are the Ignorance and Prejudices of som Persons, that when they talk of *the Commonwealth of England* they mean the Time of our last *civil Wars* and even the Tyrannical Usurpation of OLIVER CROMWELL : wheras they might as well understand by *the Commonwealth of Rome*, the Tumults of CINNA, MARIUS, or SYLLA, the Contests of CÆ-
SAR

SAR and POMPEY, of OCTAVIUS and ANTONY for the Monarchy, their bloody Proscriptions, and most impious Treason against their Contry. But (as I clearly demonstrated before) we mean by this Word *the antient and present Constitution of England under King, Lords, and Commons*, which is to all Ends and Purposes a *Commonwealth*, a Name we are not asham'd to own, nor will ever be compell'd to quit no more than the Thing. And if after all this, any shou'd think the Expression novel or improper, let him be determin'd by the better Authority of Sir THOMAS SMITH, one of the most learned Men of his Time, (principal Secretary of State to King EDWARD the VI. and likewise to Queen ELIZABETH of immortal Renown) who on the

Entreaty of som eminent Foreners, having written an Account of the *English* Government, which is highly valu'd abroad as well as at Home, he has in the very Title justly stil'd it, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

XXXI.

I SHALL not give any more Trouble to my self or others by making this *Apology* much longer: for I am so far from being concern'd at the frivolous Remarks or scurrilous Treatment of nameless, envious, and mercenary Libellers, that as I have never hitherto contributed to give them any Reputation by taking notice of their notorious Falsties, or those poor Stories,

Stories, which, supposing 'em to be true, are very impertinent: so I cannot but think the better of my self to be abus'd in the good Company to which I am join'd of late in all the Libels against the Government, and which might temt me to imagin I was as considerable as a certain *Lawyer* wou'd needs make me, from whose Family Sir WILLIAM JONES has prophesy'd *the Leprosy of Eloquence* shall never depart. But all I have hitherto written or may write hereafter is sufficiently confuted, not by the old fashion'd Way of *soft Words and hard Arguments*, but by the new fashion'd Method of *much Railing and no Reasoning*. My Religion and Politics are eternally baffl'd, and there's no Remedy for it, since

those, who are resolv'd to be in the Wrong if I am in the Right, have strenuously and learnedly asserted that I am a Son of a Whore, that I am *Antichrist*, that I had not a good Title to set up a new Religion in *Ireland* where I have no Land, that at fourteen Years of Age I foretold I shou'd be Head of a *Seçt* before thirty and a greater Statesman than CROMWELL before forty, that altho my Enemies think me a Fool my Friends do nothing of Moment without my Advice, that scarce six Men in the Nation being of all my Opinions yet I have a great many Followers among the modern *Whigs*, and that I am the Head of all the *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Deists*, and *Infidels* in the three Kingdoms.

I ought to beg Pardon for repeating such nonsensical and contemptible Stuff, but I produce this Specimen of the Generosity of some Men's Temper, and the Formidableness of their Opposition. I believe the Author of *Whiglove and Double* wou'd vouchsafe to smile himself, if I shou'd seriously go about to prove against him, that the Cloaths in which I went to *Hanover* were made in *England* and not in *Holland*: but his affirming (tho never so falsely) that they were bought with *Dutch Money*, is no Disservice to any Man's Reputation in these suspicious Times, from one who is thought to know so well how *the French Money* has bin dispos'd of; tho (as far as his Word may be taken in this

Matter) yet, without a constant Principle and Practice against *France*, I shou'd not think my Credit secure even by an *Act* of a *Parlament*: for do we not all know that it was made penal by an *Act* of *Parlament*, to say King CHARLES II. was a *Papist*, when much the greatest Part of the Nation were convinc'd of the Contrary, and that if he was not guilty he needed no such Law to stop his Subjects Mouths? And was not Sir THOMAS PILKINGTON in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* fin'd a 100000 Pounds, for saying the late King JAMES (when Duke of York) was a *Papist*, which serv'd but to make all those believe the Thing who might doubt of it before? But perhaps it will be objected here
that

that I fail in Point of Gratitude, since certain Persons were lately grown so tender to me of a sudden, as to do all they cou'd to conceal my receiving of some foren Gold; and when it cou'd no longer be kept a Secret thro my own Folly (as the Receivers of *French Gold* will call it) and the Officioufness of my Friends, then they endeavor'd to extenuat the Crime, affirmingly boldly (at which they are the best in the World) that it was all Silver gilt; and when this Excuse was render'd vain by the Weight of the Pieces and the extraordinary Fineness of the Impressions, they kindly suppos'd they might be bought by my self, tho on any other Occasion they wou'd not allow me to have Mony or Lands. These, every Body may remember

ber, were the Turns their Malice and Envy gave to those gold Medals which their Highnesses the Electress Dowager and the Elector of Hanover were pleas'd to present to me as a Princely Acknowledgement for the Book I wrote about the Succession, in Defence of their Title and Family. Nay, so shameless were the same Persons that they reported I was banisht the Court of Hanover, before I arriv'd indeed in the Contry, for preferring (no Doubt) the Protestant Line to the pretended Prince of Wales, and for espousing the Electoral House, against their Treachery, Bigottry, and Corruption. But after This was contradicted by all the Letters from thence, they ventur'd to give out, that my Lord MACCLESFIELD wou'd not see me there, which a certain Gentleman in
Surry

Surrey swore to one who did not believe him to be true of his own Knowledge, for that he had heard it in *Garraway's Coffee-House* ; yet the contrary is so manifest, that no Friend I have in the world cou'd more effectually recommend me than my Lord had the Goodness to do particularly to *her Highness*, who besides those *Medals* (which my Enemies wou'd be glad to have on a less creditable Account) condescended to give me likewise the *Pictures* of her self, the *Electo*r, the young *Prince*, and of her *Majesty* the Queen of *Prussia*, knowing the extraordinary Veneration and Affection I have for the whole Family, and which their conspicuous Virtues will put beyond all Suspicion of Flattery. Nor is it out of any Disrespect to them, nor from any Fear

○ Fear of their Enemies, that I have not yet publisht my *Observations* on that Court and Contry, the Characters of the chief Persons, the Nature of the Government, the particular Account of My Lord Macclesfield's Reception and Entertainment, and the great Honors paid to the whole *English Nation*; but such Reasons have oblig'd me to keep those Papers yet in my Closet, as will justify my Conduct when ever there shall be
○ Occasion for Printing them. My Lord treated me all the while in that Court, and afterwards in *Holland*, with greater Kindness and Confidence than I cou'd by any Means pretend to Merit; he was so much my Friend as to recommend and present me at *Loo* to the KING, who is as much belov'd and rever'd by the Princes

Princes I had the Honor to see where, as the best of them can be by their own Subjects. But my particular Loss in his *Lordship's* Death must be join'd with that of his Contry in one that was inviolably true to its Interest, and sincerely zealous to promote its Welfare abroad as well as at Home. As for his good Opinion or Intentions, I refer my self to Ey-witneses that wou'd scorn to ly for mine or any Body's Service, My Lord SEA AND SEALE, my Lord MOHUN, Captain TYRRELL, and the Reverend Mr. SANDYS; appealing more especially to the last for my Behavior and Conduct with Respect to Religion or Morality, and giving him my hearty Thanks in this place for all his good Advice, which, I hope, he will not think wholly thrown away.

XXXII. I

XXXII.

I HAVE mention'd these Things to show that it is no Wonder I shou'd be misrepresented in *nice Speculations* or *intricat Deductions* by such as will venture to contradict *Matters of Fact* publicly known in so many Places and to so many People, and which it is so evident I do not affect to relate here out of Vanity, that I shall make no other Apology for it, but that of DAVID to his angry Brother, *Is there not a Cause?* How often have the same Set of Men positively attributed Books to me, of which they well knew I was not the Writer, tho at the same Time they valu'd themselves for the Zeal in their Answers against me on this Account!

GOD

1 Sam.
17. 29.

GOD be prais'd I am fully convinc'd the true Religion approves not of these wicked Practices ; for if it had, I wou'd really chuse to be of no Religion (as my Enemies falsely report) than be guilty of such dishonorable and inhuman Actions, and I declare that I wou'd rather at any Time be the Object than the Author of the like Calumnies. Once for all therfore I tell my Adversaries and Answerers (as I did on another Occasion*) that I was sensible before I wrote, I cou'd not escape the Displeasure of three Sorts of Persons: such as are resolv'd to be angry at whatever I do ; such as neither rightly understand me nor

* *In Harrington's Life, Pag. 40.*

any Body else ; and those, who, without any particular Spite against an Author, yet to get a Penny will pretend to answer any Book that makes a considerable Noise or Figure. Therefore I find my self oblig'd beforehand to disclaim all Explanations made of my Meaning, beyond what is warranted by the exprefs Words of my Book ; having constantly endeavor'd not only to write intelligibly, but so as that none can possibly misunderstand me. I renounce all the Designs that may be imputed to me by such as are so far from being admitted into my Secret, that they were never in my Company ; but I specially disown whatever is said by those who first presume to divine my Thoughts, and then to vent their own rash Conjectures

Etudes as my undoubted Opinions. I slight their Artifice, who, when unable to object against the Point in Question, labor to ingage their Adversary in Matters wholly besides the Purpose; and, when their Evasions have no better Fortune than their Attacks, fall to railing against his Person because they cannot confute his Arguments. I am as much above the Malice of som, as they are below my Resentments; and I wou'd at any Time chuse to be rather the Object of their Envy, than of their Favor. I know that to enterprize any Thing out of the common Road is to undergo undoubted Envy or Peril; and that he, who is not beforehand resolv'd to bear Opposition, will never do any
M great

great or beneficial Exploit: yet tis no small Incouragement to me, that, from the Beginning of the World to this Time, not a single Instance can be produc'd of one who either was or wou'd be eminent, but he met with Enemies to his Person or Fame.

TO CONCLUDE therefore (being now arriv'd to Years that will not wholly excuse Inconsideratness in Resolving, or Precipitance in Acting) I firmly hope that my Persuasion and Practice will show me to be *a true Christian*, that my due Conformity to the public Worship may prove me to be *a good Churchman*, and that my untainted Loyalty to King WILLIAM will argue me to

to be a *stanch Commonwealths-*
man ; that I shall continue all
my Life a Friend to Religion,
an Enemy to Superstition, a
Supporter of good Kings, and
(when there's Occasion) a De-
poser of *Tyrants*.

Tu ne cede Malis, sed contra audentior ito.

F I N I S.

M 2 The

The Judgment of the Socinians concerning the Book, entitul'd, Christianity not Mysterious, deliver'd in the Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church. Pag. 55.

I Know not what it was to his Lordships Purpose (*meaning Dr. STILLINGFLEET the late Bishop of Worcester*) to fall upon Mr. TOLAND's Book. But if he wou'd needs attack the Book, he shou'd have dealt fairly, he shou'd

thou'd have discusst the main Argument in it, and not carpt only at a few Passages ; and those too so mangled and deform'd by his Representation of them, that I dare to affirm Mr. TOLAND does not know his own Book in the *Bishop's* Representation of it. I do not perceive (to speak truly) but that the Book still stands in its full Strength, if it hath not also acquir'd a farther Reputation by Occasion of this so unsuccessful Nibbling at it. But suppose the Bishop had disarm'd the Gentleman, *What is that to us ? Do we offer this Book against the Trinity of the Realists ? Was it written with Intention to serve us ? Doth it contain any of our Allegations from Reason against the Trinity of*
PHILO-

PHILOPONUS, JOACHIM, and GENTILIS? We desire him to answer to the Reasons in our Books against the *Trinity* of the *Tritheists*: but to these he saith not a Word, but only falls upon Mr. TOLAND's Book, in which or for which we are not in the least concern'd; nor do I think the learned and ingenious Author will hold himself to be interested to defend that *Christianity not Mystrious* which his Lordship presents us with.

BOOKS

BOOKS Sold by Bernard Lintott, at
the Post-House in the Middle-
Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet, London.

THe *Life of John Milton*, containing, be-
sides the History of his Works, several
extraordinary Characters of Men and Books,
Sects, Parties, and Opinions.

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Containing, I. A general Apology for all
Writings of that Kind. II. A Catalog of
Books attributed in the primitive Times to
Jesus Christ, his *Apostles*, and other eminent
Persons; with several important Remarks and
Observations relating to *the Canon of Scrip-
ture*. III. A complete History of the Book,
entitul'd, *Icon Basilike*, proving Dr. Gauden,
and not King *Charles I.* to be the Author of it,
&c. with Reasons for abolishing the Observa-
tion of *the thirtieth of January*.

The Militia Reform'd; or an easy Scheme
of furnishing *England* with a constant *Land
Force*, capable to prevent or to Subdue any
Foren Power; and to maintain perpetual
Quiet at Home, without indangering the
public Liberty.

The Life of James Harrington, (the cele-
brated Author of the Commonwealth of
Oceana) prefixt to his *Works*, som wherof ne-
ver before Printed.

The

The Art of Governing by Parties : particularly, in *Religion*, in *Politics*, in *Parlament*, on the *Bench*, and in the *Ministry* ; with the ill Effects of *Parties* on the *People* in general, the *King* in particular, and all our *Foren Affairs*, as well as on our *Credit* and *Trade*, in *Peace* or *War*, &c.

Anglia Libera : Or, The *Limitation* and *Succession* of the *Crown* of *England* explain'd and asserted, as grounded on his *Majesty's* *Speech*, the *Proceedings* in *Parlament*, the *Desires* of the *People*, the *Safety* of our *Religion*, the *Nature* of our *Constitution*, the *Balance* of *Europe*, and the *Rights* of all *Mankind*.

I. Reasons for addressing his *Majesty* to invite into *England* their *Highnesses*, the *Electress Dowager* and the *Electoral Prince* of *Hanover* : and likewise II. Reasons for *attainting* and *abjuring* the pretended *Prince* of *Wales*, and all other pretending any *Claim*, *Right*, or *Title* from the late *King James* and *Queen Mary* ; with *Arguments* for making a vigorous *War* against *France*,

Paradoxes of *State*, relating to the present *Juncture* of *Affairs* in *England*, and the rest of *Europe* ; chiefly grounded on his *Majesty's* princely, pious, and most gracious *Speech*.

The Art of Government in general
early in History in particular
on the one hand, and in the other
all Effects of Liberty on the other in general
the King in particular, and of our Laws
and as well as on our Liberty
Peace or War, &c.

Angus Liberty. Of the Liberty and
Succession of the Crown of England explained
and asserted as it is contained in his Majesty's
Speech, the Proceedings in Parliament, the
Desires of the People, the Safety of our Religion,
the Honour of our Constitution, the Balance of Europe, and the Rights of all Mankind.

I. Reasons for addressing his Majesty to in
vite into a review their Highnesses, the Electors
Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover
and likewise II. Reasons for answering and answering
the pretended Power of Veto, and all
other pretending any Claim, Right, or Title
from the late King James and Queen Mary
with Arguments for making a vigorous War
against France.

Paradoxes of Liberty relating to the present
Liberty of the Press, and the
rest of Europe, chiefly grounded on the Liberty
and most gracious
Speech.



Toland, John,

Vindicius Liberius

London 1702

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